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Fascism, Flamenco, and Ballet Español: Nacionalflamenquismo

Theresa Goldbach

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Theresa Goldbach

Candidate

Theatre and Dance

Department

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Thesis Committee:

Mary Anne Santos Newhall , Chairperson

Eva Encinias-Sandoval

Marisol Encinias

Gretchen Williams

FASCISM, FLAMENCO, AND BALLET ESPAÑOL: NACIONALFLAMENQUISMO

BY

THERESA GOLDBACH

**B.S. IN RADIO-TELEVISION-FILM FROM THE
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN, 1999**

THESIS

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DEDICATION

For my Mom. She put me in my first ballet class and my first flamenco class. She sewed costumes, spray-painted shoes, and hot-glued flowers. She gave me the dance experience that she did not have access to as a child and I am eternally grateful.

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FASCISM, FLAMENCO, AND BALLET ESPAÑOL

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Theresa Goldbach

B.S. in Radio-Television-Film from the University of Texas at Austin, 1999

M.A. in Theatre and Dance History from the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque, 2014

ABSTRACT

The nationalist regime of General Francisco Franco (1936-1975) dramatically and forcefully reshaped every element of Spanish culture including dance and flamenco. Many flamencologists derisively refer to the resulting product of this system as *nacionalflamenquismo* or “national-flamencoism.” The bureaucratic mechanics that created *nacionalflamenquismo* evolved throughout the first three decades of the regime to fit with changing economic and political realities. As Spain re-entered the global community following its Civil War (1936-1939), flamenco and Spanish dance proved useful tools for international public relations as well as domestic propaganda. By discerning the various factors that linked the art of flamenco to the political and economic fate of its country of origin, a more complete understanding of how art and politics affect each other develops and the symbolic power of dance in this equation becomes apparent. This thesis utilizes archival resources from the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Information and Tourism archives in the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares, Spain.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: FASCISM, THE FALANGE, AND THE BIRTH OF FRANQUISMO....	7
Spanish Fascism?.....	7
<i>Falange Española</i> and Andalucía.....	8
<i>Fascismo</i> and History.....	12
“ <i>Viva la Muerte</i> ”: Fascism and Death.....	16
Franco and Germany: Almost Axis.....	17
CHAPTER 2: CENSORSHIP AND THE POLITICS OF CLASSIFICATION.....	22
“ <i>¡Arriba España!</i> ”: The Falange and Censorship.....	22
Official Censorship Guidelines: From Nationalism to National Catholicism (1940-1945).....	25
National Catholicism: Policing the Exotic, the Erotic, and the Comedic (1945-1956).....	29
Propaganda and Tourism: Nationalism, Catholicism, and Capitalism (1956-1966).....	34
CHAPTER 3: “ESPAÑA ES DIFERENTE”.....	38
Selling Spain: The Spanish Tourism Public Relations Campaign.....	38
Origins of Ballet Español: A Spanish National Genre.....	41
FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA: A Calendar of Color.....	46
Festival de Córdoba.....	50
CHAPTER 4: “THE PEDAGOGY OF FREE TIME”.....	54
Department of Popular Culture: Bureaucrats, Scholars, and Artists.....	54

Marketing <i>Jondura</i> : The Festival de Jerez.....	56
<i>Hispanidad</i> and Latin America.....	59
“La Pedagogía del Tiempo Libre”: The Pedagogy of Free Time.....	63
CONCLUSION	69
References.....	74
APPENDICES:	
Appendix I: EXCERPTS FROM THE “GUIDELINES FOR ALLOCATING INSPECTORS AND CONDUCTING CENSORSHIP”.....	96
Appendix II: EXCERPTS FROM THE LETTER TO THE SR. DELEGADO PROVINCIAL DE LA SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR FROM EL INSPECTOR MANUEL SANZ DATED 18 JUNE 1951.....	98
Appendix III: EXCERPTS FROM THE “ACTO DE CLAUSURA DE LA II ASAMBLEA DEL CONSEJO NACIONAL DE ‘FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA’,” MÁLAGA, NOVIEMBRE 1964	99
Appendix IV: EXCERPT FROM THE “GALA HISPANOAMERICANA DE FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA 1 MARCH 1966” PROGRAM NOTES.....	101
Appendix V: Glossary of Terms.....	103

INTRODUCTION

I. TOPIC SUMMARY:

The nationalist regime of General Francisco Franco (1936-1975) dramatically and forcefully reshaped every element of Spanish culture including dance and flamenco. Many flamencologists derisively refer to the resulting product of this system as *nacionalflamenquismo*¹ or “national-flamencoism.” The bureaucratic mechanics that created *nacionalflamenquismo* evolved throughout the first three decades of the regime to fit with changing economic and political realities. As Spain re-entered the global community following its Civil War (1936-1939), flamenco and Spanish dance proved useful tools for international public relations as well as domestic propaganda. By discerning the various factors that linked the art of flamenco to the political and economic fate of its country of origin, a more complete understanding of how art and politics affect each other develops and the symbolic power of dance in this equation becomes apparent.

In this thesis, I will trace the changing tactics of government control over dance from end of the Spanish Civil War and the start of World War II (1939) through the beginning of the decline of Franco’s grip on power (1965). I will demonstrate the links between the Spanish brand of fascism (Falangism) and the history of Spain and flamenco. I will also show how the former’s perception of the latter would influence the evolution of flamenco as a performing art. I will analyze the structure and standards of Spanish censorship in the early days of the Franco regime as well as dissect the mechanisms involved in coordinating this effort. I will detail the festival campaign and accompanying public relations bonanza that contributed to the strategy of the

¹ A conflation of flamenco with other Spanish national genres, an exaggeration of flamenco costuming, and an overly commercialized interpretation of the genre all marked the style of *nacionalflamenquismo*.

departments of propaganda and popular culture. I will examine how the choices, personal preferences, and prejudices of government bureaucrats determined which artists would dominate the flamenco hegemony and what artistic trends would be cultivated. Finally, I will present evidence of the continued fascist project of artistic reform that belied the so-called *dictablanda*² or “soft dictatorship” of the mid-1960s.

II. EXPECTED CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD:

Flamenco scholars generally dismiss the period of *nacionalflamenquismo* (1945-1965) as nationalistic and overly commercial. However, I believe that understanding the interplay between government and art can shed light on how the politics of sponsorship as well as censorship can completely change an art form as ephemeral and organic as dance. In addition, many of the performance trends that grew out of this time continue to influence Spanish dance in general and flamenco in particular and also the image of the Spanish dancer and the Spanish Gypsy in the popular psyche. With its unique flamenco curriculum and biennial Flamenco History and Research Symposium, UNM has been involved in research in flamenco history in the U.S. for years now. My research aims to broaden the scope of flamenco research not only at the University but in the larger field of flamencology as well.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW:

American flamencologists William Washabaugh and Michelle Heffner Hayes both mentioned the *nacionalflamenquismo* in their broader looks at flamenco history. Washabaugh spent a chapter of his *Flamenco and Politics* describing the trend of *nacionalflamenquismo* but omits explaining the mechanics of how this trend was fostered by the state. Heffner Hayes

² For full “Glossary of Terms,” see Appendix V.

briefly discussed the period linking it to tourism and the commercialization of flamenco. Similarly, Spanish sociologist Cristina Cruces Roldán focused on social trends, especially the role of women and *tablaos* during this time. Her fellow Spaniards Angel Álvarez Caballero and Alfredo Grimaldos related more of a collection of anecdotes from this time of government spies, censorship, and gossip about various performers and their reported ties to the government. In “Del nacionalflamenquismo al renacimiento,” Álvarez Caballero named a few fascist writers and bureaucrats who used their influence with the Franco regime to push for the dominance of a hierarchical taxonomy of flamenco *palos*.

In terms of Iberian studies, there is more research on the effects of repression and censorship on the film industry than on the performing arts (Peter Besas, Marsha Kinder). Stanley G. Payne has written the most exhaustive studies of Spanish fascism and Spanish history. However, Payne tended to downplay the influence of Spanish fascism and its ideology in the decades after the Spanish Civil War. Paul Preston and Antony Beevor focused on the brutality of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath, while Paul Smith focused on the lingering cultural effects of the period in the decades following the death of Franco. Sasha Pack and Justin Crumbaugh examined the role of tourism and public relations in Spain during the Franco regime.

IV. METHODOLOGY:

I will detail the results of my research regarding the structure and evolution of Spanish fascism and its connection to Spanish dance forms. I have looked at declassified records in the FBI archives regarding Franco's government during and after World War II. I have been following the recent discoveries and revelations covering not only international interventions into Spanish politics but also the still controversial domestic efforts in Spain to shed light on this dark time in Spanish history. I investigated government records at the State Archives in Alcalá

de Henares just outside of Madrid in June 2013. My research focus was on heretofore neglected the correspondence and interoffice memos of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Information and Tourism. I also surveyed programs, budgets, and reports surrounding the various festivals that made up the “FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA” campaign of the fifties and sixties.

V. THESIS OUTLINE:

“Chapter 1: Fascism, the Falange and the Birth of Francoism” examines the rise of the Falange movement that was commandeered by the nationalist General Francisco Franco in the coup d’état that resulted in the Spanish Civil War. I very briefly consider the relationship between this nascent *franquismo* or Francoism and two other European fascist governments of that era: Adolf Hitler’s in Germany and Benito Mussolini’s in Italy. Of particular interest is the mentorship of Franco’s government by the Germans in the use and regulation of popular entertainment as propaganda. I link Falangist views of Spanish history and culture with Nazi views of German history and culture. Using the example of a proposed tour of Germany by a government sponsored Spanish *zarzuela* (opera) and *escuela bolera* (Spanish Classical dance) company in the “New Europe” of a supposed Nazi victory, I illustrate how Spain hoped to both earn the cultural respect of the Nazis as well as align themselves politically with the Axis powers. I also outline the supervision of theatre and dance by the *Sección Feminina* (the Falange’s Women’s Section) (1939-1942) and Ministry of Education (1939-1951). In addition, I summarize the formal organization of the National Service of Tourism.

“Chapter 2: Censorship and the Politics of Classification” traces the development and evolution of the censorship policies and structures of the Franco regime. Beginning with the end

of the Spanish Civil War, I follow the official establishment of censorship in the late thirties through the organization of the system of local inspectors and the issuing of guidelines in the forties. I analyze the special additional scrutiny applied to musical comedies, the favoring of dance forms that were perceived as classical or traditional, and the effort to eradicate vaudeville style variety shows. I use the case of “exotic” dancer Mooren Rossy and her clash with the local delegate in Valencia to illustrate the processes and by which performers were either coerced into conforming to a Francoist view of Spanish culture or prohibited from performing all together. I also demonstrate the increasing tendency to classify flamenco artists under a special genre associated with the *cante jondo* or “deep song” form of flamenco that relieved them of the additional scrutiny exerted on artists associated with popular music and dance. Finally, I discuss the development and growth in popularity of the *tablaos* as well as the direct and indirect effects of censorship on these venues.

“Chapter 3: ‘España es diferente’” follows the development and proliferation of the campaign of festivals (“FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA”) from the early fifties to the beginning of the next decade. I also discuss the economic role of international tourism in Spain at that time as well as its contribution to the birth of the campaign of festivals and the “Spain is Different” publicity campaign. I examine a letter submitted by John W. Lyman, a New York public relations man, along with his application for the position of public relations representative for the country of Spain. In addition, I provide a brief history of the Spanish national genre referred to as *ballet español*. I also review the standardized structure of the festivals, especially the slot or “cycle” allotted for *ballet español*. Finally, I use the story of the development of the Festival of Córdoba to illustrate the interaction between local and state authorities in the process of initiating an official government sponsored festival.

“Chapter 4: ‘The Pedagogy of Free Time’” dissects the philosophy underlying the campaign of festivals. I explore the correspondence of Enrique de la Hoz, the *Subdirector General de Cultura Popular* or Subdirector of the Department of Popular Culture in the early 1960s. I examine his interest in flamenco and flamenco history and how these interests influenced the manner in which flamenco and Spanish dance were utilized in the campaign of festivals and which artists he favored. I also include statements from published programs and pamphlets that describe the administration’s philosophy in presenting the elements of Spanish culture that were selected. I analyze what one ministerial department head called the “Pedagogy of Free Time” that sought to use culture in an effort to influence and guide the Spanish populace in an unofficial system of education through entertainment.

CHAPTER 1: FASCISM, THE FALANGE, AND THE BIRTH OF *FRANQUISMO*

I. SPANISH FASCISM?

During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the governments of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy actively supported (with weapons, supplies, and soldiers) the military coup d'état of Francisco Franco and his block of nationalist confederates.³ After the end of the Civil War, the United States and the United Kingdom not only tolerated the government of General Franco but also financially and diplomatically supported it publicly starting in 1952 and secretly as early as 1948⁴ or perhaps even 1943.⁵ Paul Preston, in his book *The Spanish Holocaust*, wrote of the Franco regime that “the rewriting of history—and denial of the experiences and recollections of both victors and victims—absolved the military rebels of guilt and sanitized the regime abroad” (520). This sanitization included distancing Spain and the Franco regime from the other fascist based governments of Germany and Italy (Paxton 56-57, 80-81, 149-150, 157, and 217). Stanley Payne in *The Franco Regime* compared Franco’s Spain to Mussolini’s Italy and Salazar’s Portugal,⁶ identifying Spanish fascism with Mussolini’s definition of fascism (632). However, many historians (Payne included) tend to classify Franco’s regime as post or non-fascist (Paxton

³ For more information on German and Italian involvement in the Spanish Civil War, see Beevor (41-42, 132-3, 135-8, 140, 142-143, 148, 150, 174, 198-199, and 216-220), Jensen (72-73), and Preston *The Spanish Holocaust* (216, 233, 457, and 434-435).

⁴ Per the official U.S. version of events (“Civilian Agency Records RG 84” www.archives.gov).

⁵ New information has been declassified by British Intelligence that revealed much more active Allied financial support (bribes) going to Franco’s military advisors (See Oppenheimer www.elpais.com).

⁶ Spain’s Iberian neighbor Portugal also suffered under years of the oppressive Salazar dictatorship during the twentieth century.

157, 217), “fascist-style” (Jensen 90), or otherwise downplay the influence of fascist ideals after World War II.⁷

So was the Spain of the forties, fifties, and sixties still a fascist state? Franco himself referred to his regime as “totalitarian” (Payne *The Franco Regime* 627). In the early days of the regime, fascist interests certainly had a strong voice in state decisions, and the Spanish Fascist party was the official state party. When looking at the regime’s treatment of the arts (including dance), many parallels between the methods of the Spanish bureaucracy and those of other fascist political machines emerge. Paul Paxton in his *Anatomy of Fascism* describes nine “mobilizing passions” that underlie fascist movements past and present: 1) a “sense of overwhelming crisis,” 2) “primacy of the group” and “subordination of the individual,” 3) a sense of victimization, 4) “dread of the group’s decline,” 5) need for closer community, 6) “need for authority,” 7) “superiority of leader’s instincts” over reason, 8) the “beauty of violence,”⁸ and 9) the “right of the chosen people to dominate others” (219-220). All of these passions stoked the fire of the fundamental political party of the Franco regime, the *Falange Española*, whose ideological embers continued to burn long after its political influence had dimmed.

II. *FALANGE ESPAÑOLA* AND ANDALUCÍA

In the early years of the twentieth century, Spain reeled from the loss of its last colonies in the Americas and the Pacific. The political revolutions that poured over the Americas in the nineteenth century whittled the Spanish Empire down from a vast continental expanse to a few

⁷ Payne wrote that by 1945 the “sun set on Fascism” in Europe (*Falange* 243) and, in the chapter “Ostracism and Realignment” in *The Franco Regime*, he discussed the attempt by the Franco regime itself to downplay the role of the fascist Falange in the subsequent government (343-383). Elisa Chuliá details arguments from Jordi Gracia, Santos Juliá, and Juan Pablo Fusi, in the section titled “The theory of the early failure of the Francoist culture” of her article “Cultural Diversity and Civil Society,” that support not only for the fascist ideals but also the cultural potency of Francoism began to fade in late 1940s as well (166-170).

⁸ For more on the glorification of violence see Walter Benjamin “Critique of Violence” (*On Violence: A Reader* 286-285).

islands. The War of 1898 known as the Spanish-American War in the U.S., or *El Desastre* (“the Disaster”) in Spain, freed the colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines from the dying grasp of the former Empire. With the loss of these last imperial vestiges, Spanish national pride as well as political and economic confidence plunged. The nineteenth century had been equally tumultuous domestically with thirty-seven military backed changes in government between 1814 and 1874 (Beevor, 8).⁹ The short-lived First Spanish Republic, declared in 1873, ended with the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1874. This constitutional monarchy lasted until 1923 when the General Miguel Primo de Rivera staged a military coup, creating Spain’s first military dictatorship.¹⁰ The dictatorship relied on support from conservatives and traditionalists in Spain’s aristocracy and landowning classes. The Primo de Rivera regime failed to gain the kind of ideological hold on the populace that the Franco dictatorship achieved much less the latter's totalitarian ambitions. After eight years, a democratically elected Republic replaced the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in 1931. It would be up to another member of the Primo de Rivera family to strangle the nascent democracy in its crib.

The Primo de Rivera family embodied the trenchant class divisions in Spain that had been boiling over into violent conflict in the early twentieth century. They belonged to the wealthy landowning class of Andalucía, the birthplace of the art of flamenco and a historically impoverished region. Their property encompassed a large amount of land around Jerez de la Frontera, situated inside the so-called “flamenco triangle,” made up of the cities of Jerez, Cádiz, and Sevilla. Socially and economically, the Primo de Rivera family stood in diametrical

⁹ Some of these occurred during the “Carlist” wars of succession between the liberal faction (who supported the young Queen Isabella II) and supporters of the conservative rival claimant to the throne, Don Carlos (Beevor, 6). Though the Carlists ultimately lost, this faction would lead two more uprisings in the nineteenth century and become important again in the next Civil War.

¹⁰ Although the military played a key role in the numerous changes in government throughout the nineteenth century, this was the first official absolutist military dictatorship. The rule of General Ramón Narváez from 1843 to 1854, although essentially absolutist, nominally shared power with Queen Isabel II (see “The Military and Politics” by Boyd and “The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, 1923-1931” by Quiapo de Llano and Tusell).

opposition to the class of *gitanos* (Spanish Roma or Calé, sometimes referred to as “Gypsies”)¹¹ who had nursed flamenco from its infancy a century before. In much of Andalucía, at the time a poverty-stricken area with a large landless peasant population, the ideas of communism, socialism, anarchism, and anarcho-syndicalism gained significant popular support among *gitanos* and *payos* (non-*gitano* Spaniards)¹² alike.¹³ Much of the *gitano* population toiled in occupations that had become strongly unionized (such as blacksmithing¹⁴ and agricultural work). These unions fell under the jurisdiction of either the radical anarcho-syndicalist labor union CNT (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* or National Confederation of Labor)¹⁵ or the more moderate Socialist UGT (*Unión General de Trabajadores* or General Union of Workers). The success of the 1917 revolution in Russia emboldened many radical left groups around the globe and stoked fear of peasant uprisings among landowners. Between the years 1918 and 1920, known as the “three years of bolshevism” (Beevor 15), peasant uprisings and clashes between workers and factory owners shook Spain, especially the region of Andalucía (12). These centered mainly on the *latifundia* (large landed estates)¹⁶ such as those owned by the Primo de Rivera family in Jerez. Primo de Rivera failed to quell most of the strife despite paternalistically reaching out to the leaders of the UGT (17). At the end of his rule, the economic and social divides still existed and the unions (particularly those of the radical CNT) continued to stage strikes and protests despite the election of the Second Republic.

¹¹ For the purposes of this project, the term “*gitano*” will be used in place of the English term “Gypsy” or the alternate terms “Roma”/“Romani” or “Calé” as “*gitano*” is the term most often used by the Spanish Roma to describe themselves.

¹² All translations from Spanish to English are by Theresa Goldbach unless otherwise stated in bibliographic information.

¹³ Many traditional flamenco lyrics or *letras* center on themes of poverty and injustice, so these political movements would have cultural and communal references.

¹⁴ For more on flamenco and blacksmithing see *Buen metal de voz: the Calé blacksmiths and flamenco cante jondo* by Gretchen Williams.

¹⁵ See Appendix V for the “Glossary of Terms.”

¹⁶ The word “*latifundia*” is used to refer to these estates by historians of Spain but originally referred to the large land estates owned by the upper classes during the time of the Roman Empire (Merriam Webster Dictionary).

General Primo de Rivera, already ailing as he began his last years in power, died a few months after leaving office in 1931. His death left his son, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, as heir to the dictator's sympathies for fascist movements.¹⁷ The younger Primo de Rivera tried to build on his family connections and anti-Communist sympathies among the aristocratic landowning class of Andalucía. In early 1933, after a failed political campaign, he began efforts to organize a fascist opposition (the *Falange Española*) to the Republican government.

In 1934, Primo de Rivera merged his newly formed group with various conservative fascist groups, the largest of which was the *Junta de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista* or the Junta of the National-Syndicalist Offensive (the JONS) (Payne *Falange*, 47). Originally, the name of this new group was to be *Fascismo Español* (Spanish Fascism) but was changed to the *Falange Española* (the Spanish Phalanx), which conveniently possessed the same initials (FE). José Antonio Primo de Rivera referred to a “dialectic of fists and pistols” (51) to be used in his fight against the Left. Although the *Falange Española de las JONS* did not achieve much political success, over the next two years they did engage in terrorist attacks, including riots and assassinations of intellectuals, academics, and union leaders (49-58). By March 14, 1936 the party was declared illegal and its governing members arrested (100). A few months later, the country erupted into a bloody Civil War. The leader who emerged from this carnage to impose his will on the people of Spain was not José Antonio Primo de Rivera (who was executed in November of 1936) but a conservative military general named Francisco Franco who shared Primo de Rivera's admiration for Fascism and hatred of Communism.

¹⁷ The elder Primo de Rivera “expressed strong admiration for” and had maintained a friendship with the Italian Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini (Payne *Falange*, 7).

III. FASCISMO AND HISTORY

General Francisco Franco Bahamonde governed Spain as dictator for life from 1939 until his death in 1975. The ideology that pervaded the state and popular culture at this time has become known as *franquismo* or “Francoism.” *Franquismo* was a curious blend of Catholicism, Spanish nationalism, and fascism. This mixture reflects the various factions that coalesced during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) into the anti-Republican Nationalist side. The dominant group was the Falange, with support from monarchists, traditionalists, factory owners, as well as businessmen. Although the Franco regime would distance itself from the overtly fascist Falange after World War II, much of its Propaganda strategy and ideology remained intact until the waning of Franco’s power at the end of his life.

One aspect of Falange ideology borrowed by *franquismo* was the use of the past and history to forward a particular political agenda. Flamencologist William Washabaugh wrote of *franquismo* that “the Franco regime ransacked the past in search of symbols upon which to rebuild a new and unified Spanish identity” (*The Politics of Passion* 13). The word “Falange” comes from the Spanish for “phalanx” bringing to mind the military might of the Roman Empire. The JONS selected as their symbol “the yoked arrows of the Catholic Kings, a fitting symbol for those who dreamed of reviving Spain’s imperial grandeur” (Payne *Falange* 18). The bundle of arrows also resembled the *fasces* used as the emblem of Benito Mussolini’s Italian Fascists. Mussolini’s Fascism sought inspiration and justification in the Roman Imperial history as well. The idea of Spain and Spaniards as the true inheritors of the mantle of Roman culture, religion, and art had held ideological cache in Spain virtually since the fall of Rome itself. The Visigoth rulers of post-Roman Hispania saw themselves as carrying on the Catholic Empire of Rome (Payne *Spain: A Unique History* 46-47). The *Reyes Católicos* (Fernando and Isabel) used this

idea as the driving force behind their crusade against the Islamic Caliphate of southern Spain and the formation of the Spanish Inquisition (68). The Vatican reinforced this zeal by bestowing the title of “Holy Roman Emperor” on their son Charles (or Carlos) I (108).

Many flamenco historians have chosen to begin their analyses of flamenco even further back in the past in the era of Classical Greek culture, which had a few colonies in Spain. Flamencologists¹⁸ occasionally cite the dancer Telethusa from the Greek metropolis of Gades, now Cádiz, as a proto-flamenco dancer (Navarro *Volumen I* 1-5). While this association may be accurate for Spanish dance in general, in the domain of flamenco history in particular it takes much of the credit for flamenco away from the *gitanos* who did not arrive in the Iberian Peninsula until the fifteenth century.¹⁹ This affiliation also discursively aligns Spanish dance and culture with the ultimate “classical” culture of Ancient Greece. Some modern historians tend to connect Spanish music and dance to the alternative classical utopia of Al-Andalus, a center of knowledge and learning during the European Dark Ages.

In the early twentieth century, the idea of Spain as a classical society would have held a powerful emotional grip on the populace in the face of the humiliation and emasculation of the defeat of 1898 and the decades of poverty that followed. Nationalist elements sought to restore Spain to its former glory as a Catholic and colonial empire. These imperialist ambitions paralleled the other fascist movements surging in Germany and Italy after World War I. In Spain, the Falange distilled all the militaristic and oppressive strains of fascism and totalitarianism into its ideology. However, the fascist obsession with and glorification of the past fell mostly to the

¹⁸ “Flamencology” is the study of flamenco and includes not only flamenco history but theory, aesthetics, and culture as well. For more on the origin of the term see Chapter 4.

¹⁹ Angus Fraser cites the safe-conduct issued by Alfonso V of Aragon to a group of Gypsies on 12 January 1425 as the first evidence of *gitanos* in Spain (76). Bernard Leblon describes how the same Aragonese king “intervened on behalf of Count Thomas of Little Egypt [a *gitano* leader], en route to Santiago de Compostela from whom the inhabitants of the city Alagon had stolen two magnificent hounds” (14).

other nationalist movements in Spain, who were more concerned with reclaiming Spain's former political power. Monarchists longed for a return to monarchy, fiercely orthodox Catholics for a return to the Inquisition, and many in the merchant classes for a return to prosperous trade. All of these groups feared the growing popularity of Communism and anarcho-syndicalism among the lower classes especially in the South, as in Andalucía where graffiti proclaimed “*Viva Lenin*” (Payne *Falange* 5) and “*Viva los soviets*” (Beevor 19). General Francisco Franco, whose main drives were religious zealotry and fear of Communism, linked his nationalist military cadre with the outlawed fascist Falange and the Monarchist causes to form a Nationalist right wing coalition. In the beginning, the coalition was dominated by the rhetoric and influence of the Falange, drawing on the latter's affinity with the Nazis and Mussolini as well as its emphasis on military action.

In its initial coup d'état of July 1936, the Nationalist's main historical reference point was the *reconquista* or reconquest of the South of Spain by the *Reyes Católicos* from the Islamic Caliphate in the fifteenth century. Stanley Payne writes of Spain and the ideology of reconquest:

During the eleventh century the ideology of reconquest was generalized, and subsequently the concept of crusading and the ‘divine war’ was adopted and normalized. By the sixteenth century this concept had become inflated, at least among some Spaniards, into the notion of Spaniards as the new chosen people of God, charged with a broad world-historical mission. (*Spain: A Unique History*, 8)

This epoch of Catholic and Muslim conflict figured not only symbolically but also strategically in Franco's invasion using his military stronghold in Morocco as a staging area and leading Moroccan troops into Andalucía mirroring Tariq's invasion of 711. The surviving stories of Moroccan troops terrorizing the local populations of cities like Sevilla and Badajoz betray tinges of a resilient cultural memory of Islamic domination. In reality, the native Spanish Falange may have been the most guilty of gratuitous violence and mayhem against the largely leftist

population of Andalucía, with a new graffiti phrase dotting their path to the center of the country: “next year your women will give birth to fascists” (Beevor 91).

The last era of Spanish History to figure into the Falangist and later Francoist view of Spanish culture is the creative flood of Spanish art from the late sixteenth century through the early seventeenth century. Relevant scholars consider this so-called *siglo de oro*, or “Golden Century,” the apex of Spanish literature and art. It was the century of Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*, Velazquez’s *Las Meninas*, and the realization of the full expanse of Spain’s military empire. Conversely, this was also a time when religious and ethnic persecution ran rampant. Anti-“Gypsy” or anti-*gitano* laws passed by the crown in 1539, 1586, 1619, and 1633 contained some of the harshest punishments and restrictions on the Gitano population of all the anti-*gitano* laws decreed by the Spanish crown between 1499 and 1783 (Garrido Díez de Baldeón, 17-38).²⁰ Guillermina Martínez Cabrejas (1917-2008), known by the stage name of “Mariemma” and one of the favorite dancers of the Franco regime, proudly advertised certain of her *ballet español* choreographies as coming directly from “the time of Cervantes” (Newspaper clipping, Box 21/50). The historical accuracy of this claim is dubious at best since there is no evidence to suggest that Mariemma had any experience in dance reconstruction. In all likelihood these dances were probably *escuela bolera* (classical Spanish dance) pieces set to Baroque music with stylized costumes.

For Mariemma, as with *franquismo*, the Falange, and many other fascist movements, historical accuracy was never the ultimate goal. The point of much of the Falange and Francoist

²⁰ Angus Fraser uses the anti-*gitano* laws as examples of what he refers to as “both the annihilatory and then the assimilatory approach” to dealing with the European Gypsy population (160). Garrido Díez de Baldeón provides images of the text of the laws of 1499, 1539, 1586, 1619, 1633, and 1692 enacted by Fernando and Isabel, Carlos I, Felipe II, Felipe III, Felipe IV, and Carlos II (17-19, 30-36, and 38-39). Omitted are the laws of 1717, 1746, 1763, and 1783 enacted by members of the new Bourbon dynasty which culminate in Carlos III’s proclamation that outlawed the very name “*gitano*” (Fraser 163-168). Leblon also discusses the progression of anti-*gitano* laws from 1499 through 1783 (17-31 and 36-42).

nostalgia for, interpretation, and glorification of the past was to evoke the “spirit” of those ages, to lay claim to that “spirit,” and in doing so project an image of Spanish grandeur not only to the international community but to the Spanish people themselves.

IV. “*VIVA LA MUERTE*”: FASCISM AND DEATH

Besides the obsession with history, another passion shared by most of the Fascist movements of the early twentieth century was the glorification of violence and death. Paxton lists one of his nine motivating passions of fascism as “the beauty of violence and the efficacy of will” (219). The Falange’s battle cry of “*Viva la muerte!*” or “Long live death!” demonstrates the fixation on death and murder that characterized the other fascist movements. Italian Fascists regularly lauded acts of bloodshed as purifying.²¹ The sheer volume of mass murders and atrocities carried out by the Nazis can leave little doubt as to their attitude towards violence and death. The exaltation of war and military action in any society can lead to an aestheticizing of destruction and cruelty.

Spain, long before the twentieth century, had erected its cults of blood, death, and horror. From its barbarian ancestry, the epic struggle for reconquest, the Inquisition, and the wars of colonization, Spanish history (like the rest of European history) drips with bloodshed and murder. The most stereotypically Spanish sport of bullfighting recalls the ancient pagan sacrificial rites. The bullfight celebrates death with the guarantee that the spectator will witness the gruesome demise of either bull or bullfighter. Many flamenco dancers of the late nineteenth century “Golden Age” of flamenco (also called the *café cantante* era) borrowed liberally from the movement language of matadors, sometimes dressing as bullfighters (La Cuenca, La Hija del

²¹ Italian futurist Filippo Marinetti wrote extensively of the use of violence as a “cleanser” and the beauty of the act of bloodshed (See Berghaus).

Ciego) or pantomiming the bullfight (Estampillo's "El picaor") (Álvarez Caballero *El baile flamenco* 87-98).

The Spanish Church, as in other Catholic countries, has also celebrated blood and death in the symbolism of the Eucharist and the mass. From the morbidity of collections of holy relics to the graphic self-flagellation of the penitents, certain elements of a more severe version of Catholicism live on in Spain. It is no coincidence that the austere Opus Dei sect of Catholicism grew out of the Spanish Church in the early twentieth century. Spanish religious art also tended to emphasize the gory facets of Christ's life and the lives of the saints. Contorted limbs, gnarled hands, and the portrayal of particularly bloody episodes epitomized the Castilian school of Spanish sculpture during the *siglo de oro*.

In this morbid aspect, flamenco could be considered the most "Spanish" of all the dance and music genres native to the country. In particular, the *cante jondo* or "deep song" brand of flamenco contains darker moods, dirges, fugues, and songs about solitude, death, and suffering. While the subject matter for these lyrics stems from the experiences of the *gitano* population, the Spanish appetite for this brand of flamenco could stem from this tradition of an aesthetic of pain and suffering.

V. FRANCO AND GERMANY: ALMOST AXIS

Francisco Franco was a devout Catholic and descended from a long line of naval officers. To him, there was little difference between the two traditions. In this respect, Franco diverged from the Falange who were more concerned with military victory than religion. Paxton asserts that Franco's Spain was "always more Catholic than fascist" (217). Adolf Hitler reportedly referred to Franco as a "Jesuit swine" after hours of frustrated bargaining at their meeting in the

French border town of Hendaye in October 1940 (Paxton 149). However, Hitler and Mussolini did see Franco's Spain as a strategically advantageous ally. The Spanish Civil War had served as a training ground for the German and Italian military, the first battleground for the intensive airstrikes and bombings that would be used afterwards in the Second World War (Preston *The Spanish Holocaust* 434-435, and 457). Both countries had contributed artillery, troops, supplies, and strategy to the Nationalist effort. After that conflict ended, Franco and the Falange hoped to join the Axis powers in their attempt to construct a new Europe. For many years historians believed that it was Franco's caution or cowardice that kept Spain out of World War II (Paxton 149). However, there may have been other factors influencing this decision. Recently, documents declassified by the British government revealed that the British government paid some of Franco's military advisors millions in bribes filtered through Swiss bank accounts to "decisively influence and assure the neutrality of Spain" (Oppenheimer).

Though officially neutral, the self-proclaimed "totalitarian" Spanish Government was unofficially apprenticing under the leaders of the Axis block. Spanish state files from this period (1939-1943) brim with correspondence between Spanish and German bureaucrats. Franco's government intended to model its approach to culture and propaganda on the German "Propagandastaffel" ("Report from Paris 4 May 1942"). In a report from Paris in 1942, the *Delegado Nacional de Propaganda* (National Delegate of Propaganda) raved about the "success" of the Germans in changing popular French opinion about collaboration with the Nazis and the reconstruction of Europe. Most of the official state stationery from this period of time contains salutations of "¡Franco, Franco, Franco!" and "*¡Arriba España!*" in either the side, top, or bottom margins (Documents from (3)49.1 Box 21/45 and 21/46).

In the “Memo: Proyecto de reglamento y organización del Servicio Nacional del Turismo” or “Project of Regulation and Organization of the National Service of Tourism” dated 9 May 1939, the various sections and responsibilities of the newly formed Tourism Service in the Ministry of Education are set out (Box 12094). Article 4 of this document sets out sections of the department such as the sections of Propaganda and Publications, Sports, Commercial Tourism, Information, as well as an Advisory of Art. The Franco government often used the label “information” as a kinder, gentler euphemism for censorship and control of the media (Pack “Tourism and Political Change in Franco’s Spain” 53). The Section of Information would:

Have as its charge: general information (providing of data of all types related to tourism in Spain, formation of files on paths of communication, transport, lodging, places of war, art, folklore ... and in general on anything of extreme interest to the tourist. (12094)²²

Until 1942, the regulation of theatre and dance largely fell to the *Sección Feminina* or Female Section of the Falange under the charge of José Antonio Primo de Rivera’s sister Pilar (per documents in (3)49.1 21/45-46). The arts and culture still fell under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, with the Department of Popular Education regulating film, theatre, and dance. The *Dirección General de Turismo* or the “Directorate General of Tourism,” a department leftover from the pre-Civil War days, was restored with Luis A. Bolín in charge. Bolín was a journalist who had “served as a battle-site guide for foreign reporters in nationalist zones” during the war (Pack *Tourism and Dictatorship* 34). The daily business of regulating the arts still fell to the Falange for the next few years.

Censorship was officially established in 1937 and would grow over the next few years to encompass an army of censors blanketing the country (see Chapter 2). Mentions of flamenco and

²² The original text reads: “Tendrá a su cargo: Información general (suministro de datos de toda índole relacionados con el turismo en España, formación de ficheros sobre vías de comunicación, transporte, alojamientos, lugares de la guerra, artísticos, folklóricos, climáticos, pintorescos, deportivos e hidroterápicos; monumentos, costumbres, indumentaria, playas, y en general sobre cuantos extremos interesen al turista” (12094).

dance in general were few and far between at this time. Documents from 1942 contain references to Mariemma performing in a short film titled “Fandaguillo” directed by Edgar Neville²³ for a Falange gala, as well as local delegates from Madrid investigating rehearsals of Vicente Escudero,²⁴ Pastora Imperio,²⁵ and the company of Juanito Valderrama and la Niña de la Puebla²⁶ (“Report from Madrid 12 May 1942,” “Report from Madrid 23 November 1942,” and “Report from Madrid 26 November 1942”).

Based on internal government correspondence, many of the Spanish bureaucrats felt that Spain needed to prove to the other Axis powers that its culture and art rose to the same level of refinement as that of Germany and Italy. In particular, Spanish opera (known as *zarzuela* and referred to in documents as the “lyric genre”) occupied an important place in the Francoist version of Spanish culture. Unlike in most German or Italian opera, dance is an important part of most *zarzuela* productions. The *escuela bolera* genre of Spanish dance rose to popularity alongside *zarzuela* in Spanish theatres of the early nineteenth century. The Franco regime intended to prove that *zarzuela* could hold its own against Wagner and Puccini. To this end, the *Jefe de la Sección de Asuntos Generales*, or the Chief of the Department of General Issues, (Emilio Rodríguez) proposed a possible “excursion” in Central Europe for a “Company of the Spanish Lyric Genre.” With a budget of 150,000.00 pesetas, the proposed thirteen week tour would stop in Berlin, Munich, and Geneva, have a repertoire that included the *escuela bolera*

²³ Neville was an expatriate British film director who had attended the 1922 *Concurso de cante jondo* in Granada organized by Federico García Lorca and Manuel de Falla. Neville went on to direct the 1952 *Duende y misterio del flamenco* featuring Pilar López, Antonio Ruiz Soler, Antonio Mairena, and Fernanda and Bernarda de Utrera. In “Del nacionalflamenquismo al renacimiento,” Álvarez Caballero includes him in his list of influential flamenco aficionados in the Franco era (114-116).

²⁴ Escudero (1888-1980) was a dancer from Valladolid, Spain who achieved international fame and was known for his unconventional approach to flamenco dance (Ríos Vargas 212-215).

²⁵ Imperio (1885-1979) was the daughter of *café cantante* star dancer Rosario “La Mejorrana” Monje (Ríos Vargas 189-194).

²⁶ Both Valderrama and La Niña de la Puebla are flamenco singers. For more on Valderrama, see Chapter 2.

standard *Doña Francisquita*,²⁷ and include in its cast (in addition to various singers and chorus) one pair of main dancers and ten secondary dancers (all included under the title “feminine personnel”) (Rodriguez, 20 Mar 1942).

This tour was to take place after the anticipated Nazi victory over the Allies. As early as the next year (1943), the Franco regime began to realize that a German defeat was inevitable. Despite his ideological affinity for the Axis leaders, Franco began to distance himself from Hitler and Mussolini. The Falange began to disappear from state organizations around this time. Although still the official state party, its leaders lost much of their political power in favor of the new *franquista* or National-Syndicalist (a holdover term from the JONS) connected bureaucrats. Paxton quotes Franco as saying that at the time “it was necessary to lower some of the [Falange’s] sails” (217).

²⁷ *Doña Francisquita* is a *zarzuela* or operetta by the Spanish composer Amadeo Vives that debuted in Madrid in 1923. The opera includes sections composed specifically for dance. It is considered his masterpiece (“Vives, Amadeo” Biography Reference Bank).

CHAPTER 2: CENSORSHIP AND THE POLITICS OF CLASSIFICATION

I. “¡ARRIBA ESPAÑA!”: THE FALANGE AND CENSORSHIP

Before the Civil War was even won, one of the first acts of the newly born Franco regime was to set up a system of censorship. The Falange system of censorship was first constructed in 1937 and later refined in a new law on April 22, 1938 (Payne *The Franco Regime* 181). These early censorship laws revolved primarily around strict control of the press and promotion of Falangist propaganda. Of particular concern to the regime was how the ongoing conflict of the Civil War was reported. The military had declared martial law on July 28, 1936 and the control of the media reflected this heightened state of security (which remained in effect until 1948) (221). Censorship was initially placed under the control of the Falange’s National Direction of Propaganda (1937-1943) (182). Themes of nationalism and xenophobia guided the propaganda strategy of this opening era of Falange censorship more than the morality and religious fundamentalism of earlier and later eras. Payne uses the example of the required addition of an “e” at the end of the word “restaurant” in Spain to differentiate it from the French and English spelling of the word to demonstrate this strategy (188). Another example that Payne cites is the legislation passed on May 18, 1938 “requiring that all newly christened Spanish children receive appropriate Spanish names not identified with foreign cultures or religions” (188).

While official records of the censorship of flamenco and dance from this time are sparse, anecdotal testimony by performers who survived this era suggests that a more informal thuggish branch of censorship or content control swept through Nationalist held territories. Alfredo Grimaldos relates the following incident from the life of the great flamenco *cantaor* Antonio Mairena (1909-1983):

One night in an inn, they called for him [Mairena] to sing for a group of *señoritos*,²⁸ the majority of whom were dressed as Falangists. Already dawn, one drew out a pistol, put it on top of the table and told Mairena: “El ‘Cara al Sol,’²⁹ *por bulerías* (93).^{30,31}

Another example of the informal censorship of the years during and after the Civil War often cited by flamenco performers and flamencologists is that of the verse of *tangos* known as “Triana” (Grimaldos 82).³² This verse was first popularized by the singer La Niña de los Peines (also known as Pastora Pavón), who is sometimes credited with its creation, during the Civil War. The version most commonly sung now (noted as early as 1947) is:

Triana, Triana, qué bonito ésta Triana
Qué bonito ésta Triana
Cuando le pone al puente
las banderitas gitanas

Triana, Triana, how beautiful is Triana
 How beautiful is Triana
 When they put on the bridge
 the little *gitano* flags

Although a few groups of Roma from Western Europe created their flag in 1933 (blue and green with a red wheel at the center), it was not accepted by their official international representative body until 1971 (Fraser 317). It would not have been used in Spain until the later years of the Franco regime. The original version of the verse was revived after Franco’s death in 1975 by flamenco singers like Carmen Linares:³³

²⁸ Literally “little gentlemen” or “little lords” but also referred to sons of wealthy landowning class especially in Andalucía.

²⁹ “Cara al Sol” was a popular Falange anthem during the war.

³⁰ For more information on the various flamenco terms, see Glossary in Appendix V.

³¹ The original text reads: “*Una noche, en una venta, le llaman para que cante a un grupo de señoritos, la mayor parte de ellos vestidos de falangistas. De madrugada ya, uno saca un pistolón, lo pone encima de la mesa y le dice a Mairena: ‘El ‘Cara al Sol’, por bulerías’*” (93).

³² Triana is a neighborhood in Sevilla known for having a large Gitano population through the 1950s and as an important incubator for flamenco styles and performers for many decades.

³³ Linares recorded this version in her 1996 album *Antología: La mujer en el cante*.

Triana, Triana, qué bonito ésta Triana
Qué bonito ésta Triana
Cuando le pone al puente
las banderas republicanas

Triana, Triana, how beautiful is Triana
 How beautiful is Triana
 When they put on the bridge
 the Republican flags

While official documentation requiring the changing of this lyric may or may not exist,³⁴ the existence of the two versions (both attributed to Pavón) points to either a coerced change or a preemptive adjustment to avoid attracting the attention of the Falange. Sevilla was the first major city invaded by the Nationalist forces in the July 1936 coup. Both Triana and the neighboring barrio of Macarena were known to be hotbeds of anarcho-syndicalism and communism and presented the greatest armed resistance to the coup.³⁵ Many flamenco performers had very public associations with the CNT, UGT, or other leftist groups.³⁶

There are several reasons why the altering of flamenco lyrics would have not only escaped official notice but also facilitated the avoidance of formal censorship. First, there is the fact that flamenco lyrics (and flamenco music in general) are not traditionally written down but

³⁴ Although I did not find this lyric mentioned in any documents from this time, this does not mean that official documents mentioning it never existed as many of the Archive files from this era are missing, lost or damaged.

³⁵ Beevor states that after the troops of Nationalist general Quiapo de Llano had seized Sevilla on 17 July 1936 “workers withdrew into their own districts of Triana and La Macarena around the perimeter of the town where they prepared their defence [sic]” (66). Later, the author describes the arrival of reinforcements from Morocco on July 21 who proceeded to carry out an “all-out assault on the working-class district of Triana... then attacked the district of La Macarena” (76).

³⁶ The dancer “Rosario” (Florencia Pérez Padilla) stated that her father (a flamenco entrepreneur) was “socialist... because he was very good, like Christ, who was also a socialist” (Benarroch 20). One of the brothers of Antonio Ruiz Soler (Rosario’s professional partner) was arrested on the charge of being a militant Communist in the late 1940s (Grimaldos 118). The flamenco singer Juanito Valderrama also had connections to the CNT and even fought for a CNT unit during the civil war (Grimaldos 87-89). Both parents of the dancer El Farruco suffered as a result of their connections to the Republican cause: his mother spent four years in prison at the end of the war and his father was executed by Fascists during the war (69-71). In an interview with BBC reporter Jason Webster, flamencologist and activist Juan Pinilla estimated that 95% of flamenco performers at the time of the Civil War actively supported the Republic (Webster www.bbc.co.uk/news).

transmitted from master to apprentice and exchanged between performers in an informal process. It is also customary for flamenco singers to play with the phrasing and the rhythm of words in an improvisational manner during performances that enables each performer to sing the same lyric in their idiosyncratic way. Lastly, the performance style of flamenco singing (much like American blues) utilizes a great deal of distorted pronunciation (elision of consonants, dropping of syllables, etc.) to the point that many native speakers of Spanish (even Andalusian Spanish) may not understand the exact words in the lyric. As flamenco lyrics tend towards the poetic, with extensive use of metaphor, symbolism, and other poetic devices, this creates yet another level of meaning with which to disguise potential political protest and subversions of cultural norms.^{37 38}

II. OFFICIAL CENSORSHIP GUIDELINES: FROM NATIONALISM TO NATIONAL CATHOLICISM (1940-1945)

During the Civil War and its immediate aftermath, most censorship dealt with more overt political protest rather than the imagined subtext of poetic lyrics. Of particular concern to censors were satire and musical comedy, considered particularly dangerous forms. In a November 1940 letter by the *Jefe Nacional del Departamento de Teatro* (or the Chief of the Theatre Department) to a local censor, Manuel Sanz from Castellón de la Plana, the official attempts to provide “requested clarification” as to what constitutes musical comedies as they “have special regulations” (“Letter from the National Chief of the Department of Theatre to the Provincial Chief of Propaganda of Castellón de la Plana (Manuel Sanz) on 7 Nov 1940”). Per censorship

³⁷ There are studies of the transmission of flamenco lyrics (see Manuel “Composition, Authorship, and Ownership in Flamenco, Past and Present”) as well as famous flamenco singer Antonio Mairena’s own account of this phenomenon in his autobiography (Mairena 18).

³⁸ This relates to James C. Scott’s view of African-American cultural resistance in blues music (public transcript versus private transcript) in his *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*.

regulations, all theatrical shows needed a censorship paper (*hoja de censura*) that should be presented upon request to the local censor (per Circular quoted in the letter). In addition to the censorship paper, musical comedies also needed to have extra- documentation and corresponding registration not only with the Section of Censorship but also with the Society of Authors and Companies (“Circular of 24 March 1940”). The Chief wrote to Señor Sanz that:

the measures to which the circular of the past 24 of April refers, are only applicable to shows technically known as musical comedies that should not be confused with the operettas or zarzuelas of a certain level that in any case exempt the genre from review when it is developed with the needed dignity. (“Letter from the National Chief of the Department of Theatre to the Provincial Chief of Propaganda of Castellón de la Plana (Manuel Sanz) on 7 Nov 1940”)³⁹

By declaring the “dignity” of *zarzuela*, the Chief of the Department makes clear the implied hierarchy that places *escuela bolera* and *zarzuela* (the native Spanish “classical” forms) on a higher moral as well as cultural level than the popular entertainments derived from “foreign” sources such as the American Vaudeville or Hollywood⁴⁰ musical comedies. An earlier bulletin (from September 1940) further illustrates the association of Vaudeville (or *vodevil*) with questionable morals stating that: “With these [extra] measures, the Department of Theatre is trying to stimulate the substitution of the *vodevil* [sic] genre by shows of an analogous structure, but of a certain moral level” (“Bulletin Number 193 of the Spanish General Society of Show Impresarios Sept 1940”). Vaudeville represented to the Franco regime not only a foreign threat to Spanish nationalism but also a moral threat to Spanish Catholicism.

³⁹ The original text reads: “*que las medidas a que se refiere la circular de 24 de abril pasado, son solamente aplicable a los espectáculos técnicamente conocidos como comedias musicales que no deben ser confundidas con las operetas o zarzuelas de cierta altura y que en todo caso dejarán a salvo el género de revistas cuando se desarrolla con la debida dignidad*” (44274).

⁴⁰ Despite the strict Hays code enforced in Hollywood at the time, many American movies and movie stars (such as Bette Davis, Joan Crawford, Paul Robeson, Burgess Meredith, and James Cagney) were considered too scandalous for Spanish audiences and their films were banned from presentation in Spain (“List of Banned Artists” Box 21/50).

The government issued guidelines in order to clarify exactly what censors should be looking for (both political and moral content), who is qualified to be a censor, and the protocol and procedures of enforcing censorship. The “Guidelines for Allocating Inspectors and Conducting Censorship” (see Appendix I) from the *Consejero Nacional en Funciones de Delegado Nacional de Propaganda* or the National Delegate of Propaganda to *todos los Jefes Provinciales de Espectáculos* or all the Provincial Chiefs of Performances (Circular No.3, 7 March 1942) opened by declaring that the:

educational labor that the Vicesecretary intends as his peculiar mission has to be realized in part through the Theatre and [the] Film Projector, since in the presence of them the popular mentality is as absorbent as the summer earth to a drop of water. As such, looking from this perspective, their importance is strengthened; importance that is theirs from their origin but has been forgotten in an almost permanent manner. (Circular No. 3, 7 March 1942)

The use of such poetic language, “as absorbent as the summer earth to a drop of water,” in an official government document illustrates not only the importance placed on Theatre and Film but also the necessity of their regulation and censorship.

The letter advises that for theatre inspectors, in order not “to submit an excessive workload to comrades who work for free,” there should be the same number of inspectors as theatres in each province.⁴¹ The profile of the ideal inspector (all adjectives used are masculine so the assumption is that the inspectors are male) calls for him to be: married, over the age of thirty but under fifty, with an academic title from an approved school, of an irreproachable public and private life, complying with religious requirements, and “knowledgeable in the style of National-Syndicalism” (Circular No. 3, 7 March 1942). This last qualification, again, refers to the political philosophy of the JONS and the Falange that at the time was still used to describe

⁴¹ The document specifies that Cinema inspectors can number fewer as their work can be performed from a single location.

the official political party of the regime. Since moral and religious standards provided much of the framework of the guidelines, it was understood that political censorship was moral censorship. In the eyes of *franquismo*, political dissidence was equivalent to moral degenerateness.

Each inspector was charged with enforcing six main tasks. The first task (performed in conjunction with the *Delegado Provincial de Orden Publico* -- Provincial Delegate of Public Order) was to request the censorship papers from each theatrical work or film and to prohibit the exhibition of any work lacking papers by communicating with the *Jefe Provincial de Propaganda* (Provincial Chief of Propaganda). Secondly, if the censorship papers requested cuts in the script, the Inspector should double check that the proper edits had been made and watch the performance to ensure that the performers respected those edits. In the case of musical performances, sheet music or lyrics would be requested, leaving genres without written music like flamenco at an advantage. Thirdly, even if the company or film had the proper papers, the Inspector may propose that any musical comedy, revue, or variety show be prohibited from public performance if he personally felt that it would cause a scandal in the town in which it was performed.⁴² With this last duty, the censorship officials reason that they do not want to “equate the moral level of the provinces with that of the large cities, but elevate those of the big cities and cause them to return to simpler tastes and morals” (Circular No. 3, 7 March 1942). Although larger cities received a larger allocation of inspectors due to the number of theatres, it would seem that smaller towns were given greater leeway to impose provincial mores on touring shows.

⁴² One example of the exertion of this prerogative by local authorities is the Memo dated 20 April 1949 from the Provincial Delegate of the Balears banning all performances in his jurisdiction during Holy Week (Box 21/2341).

In the fourth clause, this policing of the moral standards of the nation is extended back into the political realm by stating that the inspectors should carefully monitor that performers not:

add, of their own invention, phrases and jokes alluding to political problems, that they not make gestures that give the phrase a lascivious sentiment or that constitute a political critique nor a satire of either the Church, the State, the Party, or the Men [sic] of each (Circular No. 3, 7 March 1942).⁴³

At this time, the transition from the Falange as most influential group in the regime to members of Church groups (especially Opus Dei) was only just of beginning. By conflating the political and the religious, government policies like censorship eased the transition to full-fledged *franquismo* or National Catholicism.

III. NATIONAL CATHOLICISM: POLICING THE EXOTIC, THE EROTIC, AND THE COMEDIC (1945-1956)

In 1945, the exchange of Falange cronies for bureaucrats with more Roman Catholic associations was finally carried out (Payne *The Franco Regime* 350). Stanley Payne wrote of the reforms of 1945 that:

A major effort would be made to attract new Catholic political personnel and intensify the Catholic image of the regime in order to win the support of the Vatican and reduce the hostility of the democracies. The Falange would be deemphasized but not abolished (349).

In terms of the regulation and censorship of Theatre and Dance, censorship was not necessarily eased so much as standardized. Reports from provincial censors no longer arrived in terse telegrams (per records in (3)49.1 21/45 and 21/46 dated March - November 1942). Instead

⁴³ The sixth clause reiterates the power of the inspectors to use their personal judgment about what is appropriate and the fifth clause urges vigilance against partial nudity in musical comedies (Circular No. 3, 7 Mar 1942).

reports from all provinces arrived once per annual quarter and were divided into three sections by genre: Theatrical Shows, Variety Shows, and Films (per records in (3)49.1 21/2341, 21/2003, and 21/2334 dated 1948-1951). *Escuela bolera* and *zarzuela* came under the heading of “Theatrical Shows” while flamenco performances usually fell into the category of “Variety Shows” unless performed in a mixed program with Spanish Classical and other Spanish forms (see more on *ballet español* in Chapter 3). The format also required individual listing of the names and titles (dancer, singer, musician, etc.) of all performers and of each musical number with the name of the composer. The sheet music and lyrics needed to be pre-approved as well. For flamenco performances, the composer was usually listed as either “traditional” or the name of the singer or musician performing the piece.

Over time, a few evolutions took place in the way that flamenco performers were classified. First, flamenco dancers and singers moved from the generic Spanish classifications of *bailarín* or *bailarina* (dancer) and *cantante* (singer) to terminology more specifically associated with flamenco: *bailaor* or *bailaora* and *cantaor* or *cantaora*. This was significant in that it recognized a fundamental difference in flamenco that set it apart from other “Variety Show” genres. Even in the feminine form, the terms *bailaor* and *cantaor* have a different, more serious and “masculine” connotation than *bailarín* and *cantante* and similar to *matador*. Other terms joined the list as well: *baile flamenco* (flamenco dance), *cancion andaluza* (Andalusian singing), *cancion flamenco* (flamenco song), *baile gitano* (*gitano* dance), *cante gitano* (*gitano* Song), *cante jondo* (deep song), and *baile jondo* (deep dance) (documents from (3)49.1 21/2003 and 21/50). From the documents, it is unclear whether or not the terms *baile gitano* and *cante gitano* referred only to *gitano* performers or to anyone performing flamenco. Also, the use of the terms

baile jondo and cante jondo is notable for three reasons: 1) because the *jondo* designation⁴⁴ does not refer to all of the flamenco family of song, 2) the labels are used even when the program includes non-*jondo palos*,⁴⁵ 3) the appellation *baile jondo* was not as commonly used in flamenco scholarship or colloquial terminology as the more typical term *cante jondo*.

Concurrently with this incorporation of exclusively flamenco terminology, a trend towards exempting flamenco performers from the extra scrutiny of lyrics and music occurred. As in the report from the province of Valladolid dated 9 October 1950, the listing for the Compañía de Raimundo Blu contains a roster of performers (using the term *cancion flamenco*),⁴⁶ such as guitarist Antonio Reyes, but a list of musical numbers in the performance is omitted (“Report from Valladolid 9 October 1950”). In contrast an earlier listing from the same province of the company of Juanito Valderrama not only fails to use the flamenco terminology but also requires a listing of the individual numbers, albeit with a note saying that the “libretto” has previously been seen by the Inspector (“Report from Valladolid 6-7 May 1950”). It would appear that at the time it was more convenient to be categorized as a flamenco performer than as a performer of other “Variety Show” genres.

Besides flamenco, the other performances labeled as “Variety Shows” tended to include Latin-American styles (Cuban, Mexican *boleros*), American swing, jazz or popular music, and Spanish popular music. Certain numbers like the *garrotín*, *pasodoble*, *malagueña*, and *sevillanas*

⁴⁴ Some older flamencologists use a two or three branch system of classifying *palos* or rhythms: *cante chico* or *ligero* (light or small song), *cante jondo* or *grande* (deep or big song), and sometimes *cante mediano* (medium song-somewhere between the other two). In “Del nacionalflamenquismo al renacimiento,” Álvarez Caballero attributes the *cante chico/grande* system to the “*franquista* writer, José Carlos de Luna, who during [the Franco] regime was a civil governor in Sevilla and Badajoz” (“*escritor franquista, José Carlos de Luna, quien durante aquel régimen fue gobernador civil en Sevilla y Badajoz*”)(112). The author refers to this classification system as “one of those errors that has taken us [flamencologists] decades to rid ourselves of” (112).

⁴⁵ It may be that certain performers would only perform *jondo* numbers as sometimes the *cante* or *baile jondo* appellation would be used in the same roster as *bailarina* or *cancion andaluza*. This is not clarified in any of the documents.

⁴⁶ The document actually reads “cnacion” but that is an obvious typographical error (21/2003).

migrate between the Spanish popular genre and flamenco. However, with performers whose repertory revolved around Latin American or American (especially swing or jazz) styles, additional scrutiny was almost always applied. One case that illustrates the process and possible outcomes of the extra vigilance against these potentially scandalous forms is that of the dancer Mooren Rossy ((3)49.1 folder 2, Box 21/2341). The correspondence and official documents dealing with her case provide no biographical information about Señorita Rossy (as she is referred to in the correspondence) other than the fact that she is not a native of Spain. Her country of origin is never provided. It is unclear whether the spelling of her name that is used in these documents is accurate or a Hispanicized version of the names Maureen or Mourine. The surname Rossy could be Italian, French, or Spanish. Her story begins with an irate letter from the *Inspector de Castellón* or Provincial Inspector of Castellón de la Plana (Manuel Sanz) to the *Delegado Provincial de la Subsecretaria de Educación Popular* or Provincial Delegate⁴⁷ of the Subsecretary of Popular Education (M.A. Zavala) dated 18 June 1951 (see Appendix II) ((3)49.1 folder 2, Box 21/2341). Sanz explains that Srta. Rossy performed in a show produced by the company “Organizaciones Lladro” on the previous Saturday, 16 of June 1951 in the Plaza de Toros. Sanz wrote that:

This artist, being of the kind familiar with sanction, was warned to change her repertory of exotic dances, for one of classical dances, a type which she also interprets, [she] answered that she had to make three entrances and that she only has one classical number (21/2341).

Sanz did not explain in the letter what exactly he meant by the terms “classical dance” and “exotic dance.” Based upon other official documents and classifications (such as the censorship Guidelines), a safe assumption is that “exotic” could mean anything not Spanish (particularly anything American or Latin-American) and “classical” could refer to either French and Russian

⁴⁷ The Spanish word used, *delegado*, can also be translated as “deputy” or “representative.”

ballet traditions (in Spain the term “classical” is colloquially used to refer to both) or to Spanish classical and *escuela bolera* traditions. If Rossy was indeed not a native of Spain, it is probable that the “classical” dances in her repertory were ballet pieces.

In the next paragraph, Inspector Sanz continued with a description of Rossy’s show:

Upon finishing the first of her performances- it was a zamba [sic], interpreted along the limits that she had been given, - in front of the insistent applause, said artist directed her words from the microphone to the public, with the following phrases: ‘I am very grateful for this undeserved applause; For myself, I would dance all kind of “zambas” [sic] and “mangos” [sic], until tomorrow morning, [next phrase underlined] but they have prohibited me from dancing “zambas” (21/2341).

In all likelihood, the numbers that Sanz refers to as “zambas” and “mangos” were sambas and mambos, both popular rhythms in the Latin-American inspired big bands of artists like Tito Puente, Xavier Cugat, and Desi Arnaz. The quotation marks surrounding the words are those of Sanz. By using the “z” instead of “s” in samba, the resulting word bears a resemblance to a certain flamenco rhythm (*zambra*) from Granada with roots in North African and Arabic music and dance. The word mango is, of course, the name of a tropical fruit and creates an image of Carmen Miranda in one of her fruit laden costumes. The misspellings could be intentional, an effort to emphasize the foreign, exotic, or frivolous qualities of the pieces.

Sanz concluded the incident with Rossy by writing that:

In view of such inexplicable audacity, she was prohibited from participating in the rest of the show, letting her know that she knew what she was doing (*se daría cuneta* [sic]), [it is] to this Delegation... to [determine] the methods that they believe are appropriate (21/2341).

The Provincial Delegate, M.A. Zavala, forwarded Sanz's letter to the Director General of Cinema and Theatre along with his own recommendation that all of Rossy's performances be prohibited throughout Spain for a period of time that the Director General saw fit.

As no more documents appear in the file for this incident, the fate of Rossy remains a mystery. The description of the incident exemplifies the measures taken to ensure that performers stayed within prescribed limits of acceptability. As with earlier Falange-era cultural policy, Sanz uses the injection of "classical" dance or music into a presentation as an antidote to threateningly sexual or exotic material. The moral damage inflicted by the performance of one "zamba" or "mango" upon an audience can be mitigated by viewing a more cultured "classical" performance by the same dancer. Sanz does not mention Rossy's costume anywhere in his letter, so the issue was not one of exposure of the female body but the problematic nature of non-Spanish, non-European dance and music and the attempt to police what elements entered into Spanish popular culture.

IV. PROPAGANDA AND TOURISM: NATIONALISM, CATHOLICISM AND CAPITALISM (1956-1966)

With the influx of foreign tourists in Spain in the 1950s, more social and cultural influences from foreign countries did enter Spain (See Chapter 3). The United States formally re-established diplomatic relations with Spain through the Pact of Madrid signed in 1953 (Payne *The Franco Regime* 418). Throughout the next decade, the Ministry of Information and Tourism began to shift some resources to the marketing of Spain to the rest of the world and away from the policing of popular entertainments. Sasha Pack suggests that the Spanish propaganda machine advertised the surge of tourists to Spain back to the Spanish population in an effort to

foster an image of prosperity despite a still struggling economy (“Tourism and Political Change” 53). The structure of censorship had evolved from a volunteer force of political believers to a web of career bureaucrats by the end of the 1950s (“Proposals for the Remuneration of the Inspector Personnel” 1959-1960, Box 42860).

The phenomenon of *tablaos*, or flamenco dinner theatres, hit its zenith in the late 1950s. With roots in the original *cafés cantantes* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (where flamenco dance first became part of Spanish popular culture), these *tablaos* catered mainly to tourists and upper class Spaniards. Under the rules for censorship, they would have been regulated in much the same way as theatrical flamenco shows with perhaps a less consistent presence by the inspectors themselves. Efforts were made in 1957 to further relax the regulation of certain tourist areas with the drafting of the “Law of Touristic Centers and Zones” (Pack *Tourism and Dictatorship* 81). The law called for a relaxation of enforcement of public decency laws in certain areas frequented by tourists. Although the law failed to pass, Gabriel Arias Salgado (the head of the Ministry of Information and Tourism from 1951-1962) actively supported the legislation, showing a willingness to look the other way where tourist interests conflicted with national morality.

Although many *tablaos* were legitimate venues for viewing flamenco, at the time, some did function more as displays of the female form than displays of artistry. As the censorship of the previous decades had restricted the kinds of variety shows that would have filled the niche for such displays, many *tablaos* filled this market by featuring scantily clad dancers in an attempt to grab tourist *pesetas*. Cruces Roldán writes of this era that:

Indisputably, there is much truth in the tourist confusion of these establishments [tourist *tablaos*], mainly in the sixties, when it became fashionable to exhibit the girls in the *cuadros* in “bikini” accompanied by a *rociera* skirt. But also, the *tablaos*

began to initiate and evolve the names of *bailaoras* into “attractions” of extraordinary artistic quality (139).⁴⁸

The author then cites names like Rosa Durán in the *tablao* “Zambra” and Lucero Tena and Maria Albacín in “El Corral de la Moreria” in Madrid, as well as the dance groups *Los Bolecos* (Matilde Coral, Rafael el Negro, and Farruco) and the *Trio Madrid* (Carmen Mora, Mario Maya, and Eduardo Serrano “El Güito”) as examples of great artists who became famous on the *tablao* circuit.

In the Grimaldos chapter “El Madrid de los Tablaos” (175-209), the author relates numerous anecdotes from veterans of the *tablao* scene of this epoch (among them: Juan Varea, Manuel Benítez “El Cordobés,” Manuel Rodríguez de Alba “Brillantina,” José Antonio Díaz Fernández “Chaquetón,” Juan Manuel del Rey, Curro de Jerez, Enrique de Melchor, Victor Monge “Serranito,” and El Güito). While most of these remembrances center on nostalgia for the quality of flamenco music and dance from those days or old friends (like Camarón de la Isla and Antonio Gades), El Güito reminisces about private after hours parties (*juergas*) and El Cordobés mentions one night that the government police interrupted one such gathering:

Some nights, in the cellar of the *tablao*, they prolonged the private *juergas* [flamenco jam sessions] until the early hours of the morning. And on one occasion the police appeared... Emboldened by [his familiarity with General Franco] and, without doubt, by the drinks from the entire night, [El Cordobés] faced off with one of the [government] agents, when [the agent] asked for his documentation:⁴⁹ “Be careful, because I’m the second one on board [second in charge],” it occurred to him to say, in an arrogant plan. And the police, who had to be more *franquista* than even the *caudillo* [Franco], answered him: “Do not

⁴⁸ The original text reads: “*Indiscutiblemente, hay mucho de cierto en la mixtificación turística de estos establecimientos, fundamentalmente en los años 60, cuando se puso de moda la exhibición de las muchachas de los cuadros con ‘bikini’ que acompañaban a la falda rociera. Pero también, en los tablaos se iniciaron y evolucionaron como ‘atracciones’ nombres de bailaoras de extraordinaria calidad artística*” (139).

⁴⁹ Neither the narrator nor Grimaldos specifies what kind of documentation the agent requested.

offend his Excellency.” Next, they gave him a slap and took him to the police station (188).⁵⁰

One common complaint from flamenco artists from the post-Civil War era is that “the criteria of the public changed” (Grimaldos quoting Juan Varea 180-181). In what at first appears to be a contradiction of the previously cited censorship data, many claimed that the popularity of *jondo* forms flagged at this time and that the public clamored for folklore and *óperismo* (181). However, given the stated agenda of the Department of Popular Education and its offspring to eliminate lighter, non-Spanish forms of entertainment (like musical comedies, *vodevil*, swing, and some Latin-American forms), the subsequent vacuum created in the popular sphere appears to be a logical void for native Spanish forms of comedic or festive entertainment to fill. Censorship data specifies that officials had the last word on the content of live performances and could choose how and when to enforce standards. This government intervention appears to have led to *óperismo* replacing certain genres of popular music and entertainment. In the next two chapters, less overt government manipulation of the content and context of dance performances becomes will be examined.

⁵⁰ The original text reads: “*Algunas noches, en el sótano del tablao, se prolongaban las juergas privadas hasta primeras horas de la mañana. Y en una ocasión apareció la policía, reclamada por algún vecino. Entre los últimos contertulios se encontraba El Cordobés, que, en aquellos tiempos, compartía cacerías, de vez en cuando, con el propio dictador Francisco Franco. Envalentonado por esa circunstancia y, sin duda, por las copas de toda la noche, se enfrentó con uno de los agentes, cuando éste le pidió la documentación: ‘Cuidado, que yo soy el segundo de a bordo’, se le ocurrió decir, en plan fantasma. Y el policía, que debía ser más franquista que el propio Caudillo, le contestó: ‘No ofendas a su Excelencia’. A continuación, le dio un guantazo y se llevó a comisaría*” (188).

CHAPTER 3: “ESPAÑA ES DIFERENTE”

I. SELLING SPAIN: THE SPANISH TOURISM PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN

Brightly colored flowers, swirling dresses, polka dot ruffles, castanets and bullfights festooned Spanish travel posters and the government trumpeted the ambiguous slogan “*España es diferente!*” or “Spain is Different!” in the 1950s. Many questions arise from this slogan and the artwork that decorated its posters: 1) Different from what? 2) Why do images of flamenco dancers dominate those of Spanish folk or classical dance? and 3) Why emphasize Andalucía and the South? Although its original author remains unknown, the phrase first appeared in posters issued by the Directorate General of Tourism (DGT) in September 1948 as “Spain is Beautiful and Different” and then returned as a slogan in 1957 as “Spain is Different”(Pack *Tourism and Dictatorship* 68).⁵¹ Tourism first began to slowly return to Spain in 1949 (Pack “Tourism and Political Change in Franco’s Spain” 53). Between the years of 1955-1964, tourism in Spain increased by an astounding 334 percent (Naylon 24). Pack writes of this period that:

Few cases illustrate the potency of tourism as a form of international relations better than the experience of Franco’s Spain ... Spain became a major hub of postwar European leisure, absorbing a massive current of vacationers in search of seaside pleasures and an escape from staid routine. The consequences for Spain were at once economic, cultural, and political. Foreign tourists strengthened the ostracized regime, providing by the mid-1950s both its largest source of foreign currency and compelling evidence of its acceptance by democratic Europe (47).

While the use of flamenco and bullfighting in the iconography of Spain did not originate in this period, the overwhelming domination of these images over those of other Spanish art forms in

⁵¹ Pack states that “though it is not known if [Rafael] Calleja invented the slogan “Spain is Different,” it was under his leadership as publicity director [of the DGT] that the notion of difference became a central theme of tourism advertising” (*Tourism and Dictatorship* 68).

visual representations became obvious.⁵² Pack writes that in the 1950s “advertising would highlight the Spain of the *pandereta*-- literally a folk tambourine, but referring synecdochically to any and all traditional Spanish customs” (*Tourism and Dictatorship* 69). He goes on to quote a proposal submitted to the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1953 by a “ten-year DGT veteran” who pointed out that:

[T]he tourist wants amenities and ease of travel, comfort in hotels, Flamenco, singing, Gypsies... Seville, Córdoba, Granada... We must resign ourselves, where tourism is concerned, to being a country of *pandereta*, for the day we lose the *pandereta* we will have lost 90 percent of our attractiveness for tourism (69).

In 1950, a public relations representative by the name of John W. Lyman from the Club Women of New York wrote a letter to Señor José M. Coll (U.S. Representative of the Spanish Tourism Office) to submit his name for consideration to organize the English language publicity for the country of Spain (Lyman 27 Feb 1950 (3)49.2 12098). The DGT had offices in London and New York, reopened in 1947, as well as Chicago and San Francisco, both opened in 1950 (Pack *Tourism and Dictatorship* 58). In his letter, Mr. Lyman proposes that the Spanish Tourism Department “make contact with businessmen throughout the United States and sell them Spain.” Lyman calls for the Spanish PR campaign to “[e]xplain to them the beauties of the country, the gaiety of cities and towns, let them know something of the opera, zarzuelas, sports and the Spanish dance.” Lyman also hints that better PR could help Spain with recognition and aid from the United States government.

The Franco regime acknowledged the importance of tourism to the government by raising the Department of Tourism and Information to a cabinet level position in 1951 (Pack “Tourism

⁵² For example compare the use of Northern Spanish folk dance and costume to represent Spain in the Warner Brothers short *Toyland Casino* (1938) versus more explicitly (if not authentic) use of flamenco dance vocabulary in films like 1951’s *On the Riviera* and *An American in Paris* and flamenco dancers in 1956’s *Around the World in 80 Days*.

and Political Change” 53). The same archive folder that contains John W. Lyman’s letter also contains numerous letters and reports on the tourist experience written by American, British, and Irish visitors to Spain. By 1956, the majority of tourists entering Spain came from France (690,838), Great Britain (193,636), Portugal (139,288), West Germany (120,598), and the United States (115,778) (Pack *Tourism and Dictatorship* 51).⁵³ Both Pack and Crumbaugh have examined the Spanish PR strategy.⁵⁴ The authors found a definite link between Spain’s Tourism campaign and its subsequent re-entry into the international diplomatic community. Pack writes that:

Postwar trends in international travel and leisure exerted considerable influence on the development of the Franco regime as it adjusted from its interwar and largely xenophobic origins to the main currents of the postwar European conjuncture ... the blossoming of a ‘leisure civilization’ during the third quarter of the twentieth century was a major event of transnational social history with particular resonance in Spain (“Tourism and Political Change”, 48).

While Lyman’s letter, as well the proposal by the DGT veteran, demonstrate that many who at least advised on the PR campaign saw “Spanish dance” as one selling point in Spain’s struggle to attract visitors and to change the negative image of Franco’s Spain that resulted from the Spanish Civil War and the Franco administration’s association with Hitler and Mussolini. As seen in Chapter 1, there was more than one genre of Spanish dance to choose from. Ballet Español, the genre that grew from this need for a singular form to represent Spain in tourist propaganda, and to the Spanish population itself, blended not only flamenco and *escuela bolera* but also Spanish folk forms. Its roots lie not only in the needs of the Franco administration and

⁵³ These figures are out of a total number of 1,560,856 tourists for that year (Pack 51).

⁵⁴ For the purposes of this project, Pack will be used more prominently than Crumbaugh. While Crumbaugh focuses more on analysis of popular culture than history, there are some discrepancies between the research of the two authors. For example, Crumbaugh places the start of the “Spain is Different” campaign in 1964 where Pack places it in 1957 (Crumbaugh 67).

tastes of the average foreign tourist but even further back in time to the first steps of flamenco dance and music onto the concert stage.

II. ORIGINS OF BALLET ESPAÑOL: A SPANISH NATIONAL GENRE

In the early days of the *café cantantes* in the late nineteenth century, it was common practice for *escuela bolera* dancers to appear in otherwise predominantly flamenco shows. Marina Grut quoted the flamenco and *escuela bolera* dancer Antonio “*el bailarín*” reminiscing about his days dancing in *café cantantes*:

When I was a little boy dancing in a *cuadro flamenco* in a café in Seville [sic], there was also a *cuadro bolero*. The two were quite distinct and both equally popular. You never saw regional dancing in the cafés then. The *bolero* dancers would spend their days caring for their children, doing housework, and then go to the cafés at night to take part in the *cuadro bolero* and earning extra money. Very fine dancers they were too and would dance *Sevillanas* [sic] *a la bolera*, the *Cachucha* [sic], a *Panaderos* [sic], or simply a *bolero* (52).⁵⁵

By the early twentieth century, José Otero and the Pericet family both maintained dance academies specializing in *escuela bolera* in Sevilla. The city was therefore a center for the study of *escuela bolera* as well as flamenco and there would have been a large pool of dancers to choose from.

Besides flamenco and *escuela bolera*, there are several folk dance forms throughout the Spanish peninsula, which may not only predate the theatrical forms but may also contribute to their origins.⁵⁶ Many are known by the generic term *jota*. The most iconic forms of *jota* come

⁵⁵ *Panaderos* is a typical *escuela bolera* number whereas both *sevillanas* and (less commonly in later years) the *cachucha* were also performed as part of the flamenco repertory. In “Flamenco de la A a la Z,” Gamboa and Núñez cite all three as Andalusian folk dances that have crossed over into flamenco.

⁵⁶ For example, the *seguidilla manchega* provided the original basic form for *escuela bolera* dances and is also related to the *sevillanas*, a folk dance form from Andalusia that is performed in both *escuela bolera* and flamenco repertoires. Other folk forms that have migrated into flamenco are *fandangos* and *verdiales*.

from the Northern regions of Aragon and Navarra.⁵⁷ The region of Navarra in particular has a large Basque population. Much of the now stereotypical *jota* costume is also stereotypically Basque: the rope bottom sandals (called *alpargatas* in Spain and *espadrilles* in France), the bandana tied around the head on men, and the full skirts and embroidered shawls on the women (typical of many regional Spanish folk dances). The Basques had maintained an ethnic identity distinct from the rest of Spain throughout their history. Unlike Catalán (the regional language of Cataluña), Gallego (language of Galicia), or even Caló (dialect of the Gitano population of Spain), the Basque language, Euskadi, has no linguistic or grammar connection to Castilian Spanish. Basque nationalism (and later separatism) presented one of the strongest challenges to the Spanish nationalism of the Falange and the Franco regime. The inclusion of a genre associated with this troublesome region in shows by *ballet español* artists would have fit in with the Francoist view of a united Spain.

When artists like Pastora Imperio (néé Pastora Rojas Monje), Antonia Luque y Mercé “La Argentina,” Vicente Escudero, and Encarnación López Júlvez “La Argentinita” first brought flamenco dance to the concert stage in the early twentieth century, they would also perform numbers from *escuela bolera* and folk dance repertoires. Martínez Hernández writes of this epoch, known as *ópera flamenca*, that:

Flamenco [at this time] was full of “Niños,” goldfinches, and trills, of falseta [sic] voices and voices full of falseness, of rubble and sequins that enthused a public content with a frivolous aesthetic. It is true that the majority of this public asked for and accepted this trickery, accepting the cat for the hare, but it is no less certain that reason is not always on the side of the majority. The result of this mystifying avalanche is that our art fell into a sad immature age and forgot the

⁵⁷ According to de Alaiza, the family of dances known as *jotas* may not be native to the Northern or Basque regions but became popular in these regions after their importation. The author does not give a specific date for the adoption of the *jota* by the Basque regions but does state that “especially since the 1930s, [the *jota*] has served to promote a feeling of Basque national unity” (“The Evolution of the Basque Jota as a Competitive Form” 1).

depth and maturity that it had previously achieved (67).⁵⁸

While this analysis demonstrates a definite subjective preference for more serious flamenco styles (especially *cante jondo*), it also demonstrates the perception by many flamencologists that *ópera flamenca* sold out traditional flamenco in order to sell more tickets and records. This may be partially the result of many of these artists using *escuela bolera* (which already had a proven international audience)⁵⁹ and Spanish folk forms (such as *jota*) to diversify their repertoires.⁶⁰ However, at this time there were many longer form flamenco based concert pieces: the symphonic interpretations of flamenco *palos* used in Manuel de Falla's *El amor brujo* and La Argentina's *café cantante*⁶¹ nostalgia pieces *Las calles de Cádiz* and *El Café de Chinitas* (Álvarez Caballero *El baile flamenco* 184-186, 212-214, 217-219). As pre-recorded music was not a technologically viable option for dance performances at this time, most folk pieces were translated to symphonic form or to piano. Flamenco numbers were spared this translation not only to preserve the foundation of flamenco (the music) but also because a minimal *cuadro flamenco* consisting of one singer and one guitarist would not have cost as much to take on tour as a full band.

⁵⁸ The original text reads: “*El flamenco se llenó de ‘Niños’, jilgueros y gorgoritos, de voces huecas de falsete y llenas de falsedad, de ripios y lentejuelas que entusiasmaban a un público complaciente con la frivolidad estética. Es cierto que ese público mayoritario pedía y celebraba aquel engaño, aceptando el gato por liebre, pero no es menos cierto que la razón no está siempre de parte de la mayoría. El resultado de esta avalancha mistificadora fue que nuestro arte cayó en una triste minoría de edad y se olvidó la honda y recia madurez que antes había alcanzado*” (67).

⁵⁹ Gerhard Steingress's book *Y Carmen se fue a Paris* details the crossover between French Romantic ballet and Spanish forms, especially *escuela bolera*.

⁶⁰ A program performed by La Argentina in December 1931 in New York included classical numbers from de Falla's *Le Tricorne* and *El amor brujo* and Albeniz's “Almería” as well as the flamenco *garrotín* and the *charrada*, a Spanish folk dance from Salamanca (Martin “La Argentina's Art Again is Welcome”). In February of 1932, Escudero also presented selections from de Falla and Albeniz as well as the *farruca* and the “Jota de Navarra” (Martin “Escudero Presents Three New Dances”).

⁶¹ For the purposes of this chapter, the singular “*café cantante*” will be used when referencing the era and the plural “*cafés cantantes*” will be used when referring to the actual cafés themselves.

There is little evidence that this blending of Spanish genres had any political basis.⁶² When the Spanish Civil War brought an abrupt end to the *ópera flamenca* era, most of the artists went into exile overseas as much for financial as political reasons. La Argentina died tragically in the first days of the Civil War of natural causes. Figures like La Argentinita and her sister Pilar López, Antonio and Rosario, and the great Carmen Amaya all relocated to the Western Hemisphere for the duration of the Civil War and World War II. These artists were basically on constant tour throughout the war years. As a result, many exhausted their repertoires quickly. Most returned to the trend of incorporating other Spanish forms (both folk and popular) into an otherwise flamenco program. A program by La Argentinita's company performed in New York in 1942 featured not only classical fare like Ravel's *Bolero* and a piece from *Doña Francisquita*, a *jota* ("Jota of Alcaniz"), a *tangos* and a *malagueña*, as well as a Peruvian dance *huayno* (performed with Peruvian musicians) and the "Danza de los viejitos" from Michoacán, Mexico (Martin "Argentinita Wins a Wild Welcome"). Antonio and Rosario also incorporated styles from South America into their shows and created flamenco tinged numbers to recordings of popular music such as the popular Spanish song *El relicario* (Benarroch 27-28).

The trend of dancing flamenco *palos* previously reserved only for singing or from other musical genres had begun in the *café cantante* era.⁶³ Álvarez Caballero discusses these early examples of dancers manipulating traditional flamenco to accommodate the need for expanded repertory in his book *El baile flamenco* (122-124, 145-149). In later chapters, Álvarez Caballero details Escudero's decision to dance the *jondo palo* of *siguiriyas* (previously reserved for

⁶² Only Vicente Escudero and Antonio "*el bailarín*" left behind first person accounts of this period. Antonio (along with his partner Rosario) participated only in the tail end of this era. Escudero, on the other hand, was one of the leading figures outside of Spain during this period but wrote mainly about artistic and philosophical issues rather than politics.

⁶³ As previously described, the *garrotín* was based on a popular Asturian song, the *farruca* may have roots in Galician music, *milonga* was derived from Argentinian music, and *palos* like the *solea* may have originally been strictly musical pieces which were not danced until the *café cantante* period.

singing) in Madrid in 1942 (244-245) and the possibility that Carmen Amaya danced the *cante-only palo* of *rondeña por zambra* (and possibly the *taranto*) during her stay in New York (266). The author attributes the use of *cante-only palos* like *martinete*, *livianas*, and *serranas* in dance to Antonio *el bailarín* and the much debated dancing of the *taranto* to his partner Rosario (265-267).⁶⁴

It was during this period of exile and innovation that flamenco became known in the Americas. While the country of Argentina had a long history with flamenco and flamenco artists dating back to the nineteenth century (as demonstrated by the common eponymous sobriquet for flamenco artists), the rest of the hemisphere had little contact with the art before the twentieth century. La Argentina toured the U.S. and Latin America during World War I and impresario Sol Hurok brought Vicente Escudero, La Argentinita, and Carmen Amaya to the U.S. in the 1930s.⁶⁵ However, it was during the period of 1937-1945 that contained not only the largest number of flamenco and Spanish dance touring shows in the Americas but also on featured flamenco and Spanish dance on film.⁶⁶ Carmen Amaya, as well as Antonio and Rosario, appeared in major Hollywood films.⁶⁷ Amaya was even invited to perform at the White House for President Roosevelt in 1944 (Heffner Hayes 149).

By the time the Spanish tourism initiative kicked into gear near the end of the forties, the rest of the world was familiar not only with the fierce flamenco of Carmen Amaya but also with the *mélange* of Spanish forms performed by Antonio and Rosario, Pilar López, and eventually

⁶⁴ Although Blas Vega cites Carmen Amaya as the originator of the *taranto* as a danced *palo*, Álvarez Caballero found more compelling evidence for Rosario's claim (266).

⁶⁵ Escudero arrived in New York in 1932 ("Display Ad 26"), La Argentinita debuted in 1930 (Martin "The Dance: Argentinita"), and Carmen Amaya finally arrived in 1940 ("Carmen Amaya to Dance Here").

⁶⁶ There were artists like the Cansino family (of whom Rita Hayworth was a member) who performed some flamenco along with Spanish classical and ballroom pieces in the U.S. in the teens and twenties. Also, the Denishawn dance company (1915-1931) regularly included their interpretation of a *cuadro flamenco* in shows.

⁶⁷ Carmen Amaya appeared in *Maria de la O* in 1939, *Knickerbocker Holiday* and *Follow the Boys* in 1944, and *See My Lawyer* in 1945 ("Carmen Amaya" imdb.com). Antonio and Rosario appeared in *Sing Another Chorus* in 1941 and *Hollywood Canteen* in 1944 ("Antonio" and "Hollywood Canteen" imdb.com).

American artists like José Greco. When the formerly expatriate performers returned after World War II, for personal, political or professional reasons, they brought the stylistic mutations with them.⁶⁸ Therefore, the architects of “*ballet español*” would not need to create the genre from scratch. The format already existed. Shows typically had various sections representing certain Spanish genres: *escuela bolera* (usually a *panaderos*, the *Sonatas* by Padre Soler, or selections from *zarzuela* such as *La boda de Luis Alonso* or *Doña Francisquita*), regional folk dance (*jotas*, *bailes vascos*, or *seguidillas*), almost always a version of *El amor brujo* or another Spanish symphonic piece, and a *cuadro flamenco*. The artists associated with this genre were Mariemma, Antonio (now separated from Rosario), Pilar López, and (in the latter half of the decade) the Mexican born Luisillo (Luís Pérez Dávila). Luisillo’s company included, much like La Argentinita before him, a section of dances titled “Por tierras mejicanas” that included numbers from the Mexican regions of Michoacán and Oaxaca (“Report August 1956” (3)49.9 38129). Pilar López was so associated with the genre that the slot allotted for *ballet español* was occasionally referred to as “*ciclo*” (cycle or series) “Pilar López” even when López’s company was not occupying the spot (documents from (3)49.12 44281). *Ballet español* became an essential part of the structure of the campaign of festivals that the Spanish government conducted in the fifties.

III. FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA: A CALENDAR OF COLOR

By the year 1960, 1.5 million pesetas out of a 24 million peseta Spanish government

⁶⁸ Pilar López returned to Spain in 1945 after the sudden death of her sister. Carmen Amaya returned in 1947 due to the death of her father in Barcelona. Antonio and Rosario returned in 1949 either to capitalize on business opportunities (according to *Antonio: La verdad de su vida*) or to secure the release of his brother from prison (according to Grimaldos).

budget went to the campaign known as “FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA”⁶⁹ (“Budget 1960” (3)49.9 38129). In official documents the title is always written in all capital letters. Although there was an official *Comisario del Patronato* or Commissioner of the Board of Festivals, the campaign was largely an interdepartmental project of the Ministry of Information and Tourism (Collado Hidalgo (3)49.12 44256). Spain had a long history of religious and local festivals dating back to the Middle Ages and beyond.⁷⁰ The poet Federico García Lorca and composer Manuel de Falla had organized the first *Concurso del cante jondo flamenco* competition in 1922 in Granada. All of these events tended to be either privately or locally organized. The “Festivales de España” differed from these previous festivals in that it was centrally organized by the government and specifically marketed to potential foreign tourists. Festivals were designed not only to highlight local specialty musical genres, like *zarzuela* in Madrid, flamenco in Andalucía, and *jota* in the North (“Plan nacional de Festivales de España 1966” (3)49.9 38124), or products, such as the Cotton Festival in Utrera (Belmonte “Program Notes from the Festival de Algodón” (3)49.9 38169), but also to offer local residents the opportunity to attend productions considered high or classical in nature such as French ballet, Italian and German Opera, and British Theatre. Originally, the festivals were scheduled during periods considered to be low season for tourists (fall and winter months) but later shifted to coincide more with the tourism season. This original scheduling could have been an attempt to stimulate domestic tourism and income during the seasons when international tourists were not visiting. The later adjustment could have been due

⁶⁹ In archival documents, the title “FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA” is always written in all caps the same format that will be used for this thesis.

⁷⁰ Santiago de Compostela with its Feast of St. James had been a destination for pilgrims since the twelfth century (“Route of Santiago de Compostela” UNESCO World Heritage Centre website). While the Feast of San Fermín in Pamplona dates back to the fourteenth century, the iconic running of the bulls did not begin until the nineteenth century (“San Fermín: Historia de la fiesta” Reyno de Navarra website). Although Holy Week (*semana santa*) celebrations date back centuries, the *feria de abril* (April Fair) in Sevilla was not formally organized until 1847 and did not reach peak popularity until the 1920s (“Historia de la feria de abril de Sevilla” Sevilla feria abril website).

to practical limitations of maintaining a year round, government funded, centrally organized festival schedule.

In some cases, festivals were created where none had existed before. In other cases, the set FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA structure was imposed on a previously small local or private festival. The structure consisted of different cycles of genres that could be mixed and matched according to the available talent or preference of local authorities. The standard cycles were: the musical cycle (always symphonic), lyric cycle (Opera), lyric Spanish cycle (*zarzuela*), dramatic cycle (plays), dance cycle (French ballet), and the *ballet español* cycle. Festivals usually lasted about a week. Most cycles consisted of one, two, or even three different shows per cycle with two or three performances scheduled for each show. A festival could have all or only some of the cycles. The companies approved for the *ballet español* cycle were stretched rather thin by the height of the Festival campaign. Local organizers fought over favorites such as Antonio or Mariemma ((3)49.12 44280).

An additional set of performances of “Cante y baile andaluz” or “Andalusian Song and Dance” were attached to most of the Andalusian festivals. These performances were structured almost as anthropological exhibitions with examples of each type of *palo* and the artists considered the experts in each (such as Fernanda and Bernarda de Utrera in *solea* and Antonio Mairena in *martinete*) presented. The program from the “Baile y cante andaluz” section of the Festival de Sevilla in 1954 began with a *cuadro de sevillanas*, a group of *fandangos*, and a section of *cante y baile del cané*.⁷¹ The program advertised all of the performers in the next section *baile y cante por bulerías* (who included La Paquera de Jerez, Moraito, Terremoto, and

⁷¹ The term *cané* (per Gamboa and Núñez) refers to flamenco songs performed with a chorus sung by a larger group of people or *coro* (“Flamenco de la A a la Z”).

Laberinto)⁷² as *puramente gitanos* or “purely *gitanos*” (“Baile y cante andaluz, Sevilla 1954” (3)49.9 38169). The *soleares* section predictably featured Fernanda and Bernarda de Utrera as well as the *cantaor* “El Perrate.” The next section grouped together *alegrías*, *mirabras*, *serranas*, and *verdiales*. Depending upon the classification system used, this grouping could either serve to emphasize possible Andalusian folk roots for the four *palos* or could be an effort to limit the amount of non-*jondo palos*.⁷³ *Seguiriyas* and *martinete* sung by Antonio Mairena closed out the program. Subsequent programs for the same Festival in 1955 and 1956 contain almost identical lineups, with a few extra *palos* and adjusted groupings ((3)49.9 38169).⁷⁴ In 1956 a show that replicated the famous *tablaó* “Zambra” with the dancer Rosa Durán appeared in the Festival Internacional de Sevilla as well as other Festivals (“Program from ‘Zambra: tablaó de flamenco,’ Sevilla 1956” (3)49.9 38169). The programs occasionally provided the audience with a description of each *palo* and its history. The program for the “Festival de Algodón” in Utrera from 1963 contains an essay describing the flamenco heritage of the region and mentions the singer Mercedes la Serneta as well as Fernanda and Bernarda de Utrera (Belmonte (3)49.9 38169).

By 1966, the official Festival calendar lasted from April through October, included sixty-four festivals, homages, and *certámenes* or contests, and took place in sixty different cities and

⁷² Paco “Laberinto” Ruiz Gómez (1910-1974) was a dancer from Jerez de la Frontera who had danced in the companies of Manolo Caracol and Carmen Amaya. There is no indication in his biographical information that he was of Gitano heritage (Ruiz Vargas 189).

⁷³ For more in depth analysis of the various *palos*, their histories, and interrelatedness, see Gamboa and Núñez “Flamenco de la A a la Z.”

⁷⁴ While the first three sections were the same in 1955, with the addition of different kinds of *sevillanas* (“biblicas,” “rocieras,” “trianeras,” and “serranas”), the program goes on to group *tangos* with *verdiales* and *serranas*; *soleares* with *bulerías*; *tarantas*, *malagueñas*, and *seguiriyas* again with *soleares*; *tanguillos* with *alegrías* and *bulerías*; and ends a *seguiriya*, *martinete*, and *soleares* before a “*fin de fiesta*” or ending jam session (“Cante y baile Andalucía, 1955 Festival Internacional de Sevilla” (3)49.9 38169). The 1956 program kept much the same format adding sections of *tientos*, of *caña* and *polo*, of *farruca*, *tonás*, *carceleras*, *jabera*, and a new grouping of *caracoles*, *fandanguillos*, *tanguillos*, and *chufas* (“Cantes y bailes de Andalucía, 1956 Festival Internacional de Sevilla” (3) 49.9 38169).

towns across Spain (“Plan nacional de Festivales de España 1966” (3)49.9 38124).

IV. FESTIVAL DE CÓRDOBA

The case of the festivals of Córdoba illustrates the typical evolution of a local or private festival into a government-controlled event. The Casino de Priego is a social organization⁷⁵ based in the town of Priego de Córdoba located in the Córdoba region of Andalucía. On the occasion of its centennial anniversary in 1948, the Casino organized an annual festival of classical music that featured “figures from music and song, [also] ballet” (Gamiz Luque (3)49.12 44280). The Mayor of Priego de Córdoba forwarded a letter dated 4 April 1956 from the President of the Casino de Priego to the *Junta Técnica de Información y Educación Popular* (Technical Junta or Council of Information and Popular Education). The Mayor’s office included a note explaining to the junta that the president was “older in age” (“Memo from Ayuntamiento del Priego de Córdoba” (3)49.12 44280). Gamiz Luque’s letter complains to the junta that the festivals “without state help, are in imminent danger of disappearing, since their cost is superior to the economic possibilities of this society.” Enrique Álcala Ortiz quotes Gamiz Luque describing the campaign he conducted (with his brother Manuel) to include the *Festivales de música y canto de Priego* in the official schedule of Festivales de España:

We went to Madrid. I went to visit Adolfo Muñoz Alonso⁷⁶ with whom, because of my love of philosophy, I was much united in friendship. He advised us to write directly to the Minister, who was Arias Salgado; and in that manner we resolved the problem (“Antecedentes históricos de los festivales”).⁷⁷

⁷⁵ These *casinos* were organizations that had existed throughout Spain since the nineteenth century. They were always all male and also sometimes served as meeting places for local party members (Jacobson and Luzón 100).

⁷⁶ Muñoz Alonso (1915-1974) was a professor of philosophy and theology as well as a longtime member of the Falange (“Adolfo Muñoz Alonso, extraordinario filósofo y pensador” Fundación nacional Francisco Franco website).

⁷⁷ The original text reads: “*Hasta que un día mi hermano y yo, -nos cuenta Pablo Gámiz-, fuimos a Madrid. Yo fui a visitar a Adolfo Muñoz Alonso con el que, por mi afición a la Filosofía me unía mucha amistad. Él nos aconsejó,*

Their efforts resulted in the festival's conversion into part of the Festivales de España in 1959.⁷⁸

Córdoba was officially included in the Festivales de España campaign beginning in 1955.⁷⁹ In 1956, flamencologists⁸⁰ Anselmo González Climent and Ricardo Molina organized the *Concursos nacionales de arte flamenco de Córdoba* or “National Contests of Flamenco Art of Córdoba” (Mitchell 180).⁸¹ The 1966 “Plan nacional de Festivales de España” featured both the eleventh “Festival de Córdoba” as well as the eighth “Festival de Priego de Córdoba” ((3)49.9 38124). However, not all local festivals clamored for government recognition. A government representative sent to observe the 1957 festival de Córdoba quoted the Mayor of Córdoba, in reference to another prominent festival (the *Festival de los patios cordobeses*), in his report saying that:

Córdoba does not want ‘one more of the Festivales de España’ [sic]; therefore he [the mayor] began calling it the ‘Festival de los Patios Cordobeses’, the greater part of the idea [being] that the City Council cannot spend money presenting the Festival and therefore the character of these [festivals] must be essentially different than those of Sevilla, Jaén, Cádiz, etc (Sr. Vallhonrat (3)49.12 44280, page 2).⁸²

The Patio festival consists of residents decorating their balconies and patios with elaborate

que le escribiéramos directamente al Ministro, que era Arias Salgado; y de esta forma resolvimos el problema” (Álcala Ortiz).

⁷⁸ Alcalá Ortiz adds that the “Huerta de las Infantas” festival did remain with the Section of Bellas Artes and Literature of the Casino de Priego with the Casino as organizer (“Antecedentes históricos de los festivales”).

⁷⁹ Based on the listing of the 1965 Festival de Córdoba as the “10th Annual” in the program (Universidad de Córdoba, <http://helvia.uco.es/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10396/10784/Folleto%2034.pdf?sequence=1>).

⁸⁰ For more on González Climent see Chapter four.

⁸¹ The *Concurso nacional de arte flamenco de Córdoba* was originally called the *Concurso nacional de cante jondo* after the 1922 competition organized by Lorca and de Falla in Granada. Per the festival's website, the name was changed in 1965. The website also states that the contest “has been promoted from its first edition by the Ayuntamiento de Córdoba,” indicating that it was never included in the Ministry of Information and Tourism's official “Festivales de España” campaign (“El ‘nacional de Córdoba’” www.nacionaldearteflamenco.es). The contest occurs every three years with the next edition due in 2016.

⁸² The original text reads: “Córdoba no quiere ‘uno más de los Festivales de España’; por lo que ha empezado por denominarlo ‘Festival de los Patios Cordobeses’, a más de que parte de la idea de que al Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad no puede costarle dinero la realización de los Festivales y que por tanto el carácter de los mismos ha de ser esencialmente diferente a los de Sevilla, Jaén, Cádiz, etc., que también realiza el Patronato en Andalucía” (Vallhonrat 2).

flowers and plants in order to win a prize.⁸³ As the exhibitions in the patio festival are provided by the individual residents of Córdoba, this festival would be much more economical to produce than the standard *Festival de España*, with the requisite theatre, music, and dance components. The mayor also expressed a desire to preserve the distinctive character of Córdoba against the homogenizing tendency not only of the greater region of Andalucía but also (by extension) the national government as well.

Earlier in the report, Vallhonrat noted that the name of the Ministry of Information and Tourism had been omitted from programs and publicity in favor of that of “Patronato de Información y Educación Popular” (or the “Patronage of Information and Popular Education”), ignoring the department’s promotion to cabinet level ministry six years prior. He surmised that it was for the best as the festival had been poorly organized and would not have made for good publicity anyway. Vallhonrat assures the Ministry that the most successful part of the Festival was the performance by Antonio’s company (referred to as “*el bailarín Antonio Ruiz*”) (1). In October of the same year, the provincial delegate of Córdoba wrote to the *Comisario General de Festivales* or Commissary General of Festivals requesting (among other things) that Antonio’s company return for the same Festival the next year (Gonzalez Gisbert 26 October 1957). As the 1958 festival included Pilar López’s company to fill the requisite *ballet español* slot, it is unclear the extent to which such requests by local officials were considered. Based on correspondence, such decisions were most likely made by the bureaucrats in the various ministerial departments that supervised the festivals. As with the guidelines for censorship, the personal preferences and judgment of the individuals charged with making these decisions would affect not only the

⁸³ Per the official Córdoba tourism website, the tradition of this patio decoration results from the climate of the region and has existed since the days of the Muslim Caliphate. The Patios de Córdoba festival is listed as a World Heritage Site. The organized competition began in 1921 and continues today (“Los patios de Córdoba- Patrimonio de la humanidad” www.turismodecordoba.org).

performers chosen for the festivals but which festivals received government sponsorship. In the next chapter, an examination of internal correspondence between Francoist bureaucrats will demonstrate how such decisions were made and a glimpse at the ideology at work behind them.

CHAPTER 4: “THE PEDAGOGY OF FREE TIME”

I. DEPARTMENT OF POPULAR CULTURE: BUREAUCRATS, SCHOLARS, AND ARTISTS

The early sixties brought a gradual relaxation of some of the more draconian censorship policies of the Franco regime. Protests in the mid-fifties and the appointing of a new head of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, Manuel Fraga, led to the new Press Law in 1966 that reformed the censorship process (Payne *The Franco Regime* 439-443, 511).⁸⁴ According to Stanley Payne:

The plateau achieved by the regime during the 1950s extended through its third decade, well into the 1960s. It had developed a system of essentially bureaucratic, politically almost unmobilized authoritarian government (494).

The cabinet system grew to include eighteen Ministries by 1962 (“7. Dictadura de Franco (18.07.1936 / 20.11.1975).” CSIC online). Fraga expanded upon the various departments within the Ministry to compensate for the increased volume of tourism⁸⁵ such as the Directorate General of Tourism Enterprises and Activities (DGEAT) and the Directorate General of Tourism Promotion (DGPT) both created in 1962 (Pack *Tourism and Dictatorship* 110-111). The Director General of Information held meetings in that same year “in order to change impressions and to study projects in respect to an immediate campaign of popular culture” (“Acta de la segunda reunion sobre una campaña de cultura popular” 5 Oct 1962 (3)49.12 44259). By February of the next year, archival documents begin referring to Enrique de la Hoz as the “*Subdirector General*

⁸⁴ Some of the reforms included making the names of censors public (439).

⁸⁵ According to Sasha Pack in *Tourism and Dictatorship*, the number of tourists visiting Spain rose from just under a million in 1954, to 2.9 million in 1959, and to 6.4 million in 1962 (108) This trend continued with the number of tourists reaching 31.3 million in 1973 (108)..

de Cultura Popular” or “General Subdirector of Popular Culture.”⁸⁶ De la Hoz answered to the Director General of Information, Carlos Robles Piquer (documents from (3)49.8 35272-273).

In addition to answering requests from local officials like the Mayor of Córdoba (who asked if De la Hoz knew of a good Opera company for the town’s upcoming festival), De la Hoz also helped determine who would be participating in the campaign of festivals, which festivals would be included, and the nature and structure of future festivals. De la Hoz wrote letters to the *Jefe de la Sección de Campañas y Festivales* (Chief of the Section of Campaigns and Festivals) about which artists he wanted to participate in the festivals. In July 1963 he wrote to attempt to secure Vicente Escudero’s response to a request for Escudero’s participation in the campaign of festivals that proved fruitless (“Letter to the Chief of the Section of Campaigns and Festivals 23 Jul 1963”). In September of the same year he wrote to the same Chief that he wanted to get Manuela Vargas’s Company for the campaign and that the Chief should “try to establish contact” with the Vargas organization (25 September 1963).⁸⁷ His immediate superior, Robles Piquer, sent De la Hoz a copy of a letter that had been addressed to Robles Piquer dated 11 September 1963 (but forwarded on 24 October) certifying that Mariemma’s company “must travel to Paris from 14 September to 31 October in order to offer performances of Spanish dances under the patronage of this same Directorate General”⁸⁸ and so would not be available for festival appearances (“Letter about Compañía Mariemma” 24 October 1963). The length of time between the date of the original letter and the date of the forwarding of the letter suggests that

⁸⁶ As there were no documents referring to anyone as “Director General of Popular Culture” it is likely that this department was a Subdirectorate (per files from (3)49.8 35272 and 35273).

⁸⁷ It is worth noting that the Manuela Vargas Company (which included a young Cristina Hoyos) went on to appear on American television in October of 1965. Whether or not this was part of what De la Hoz wanted to use the group for is unclear from the documents in the archive (“The Ed Sullivan Show” Episode #19.7 imdb.com).

⁸⁸ Original text reads: “tiene que desplazarse a París desde el 14 de Septiembre hasta el 31 de Octubre para ofrecer representaciones de danzas españolas bajo el patrocinio de esta Dirección General, la cual se responsabiliza del regreso a España, inmediatamente después de la última fecha citada” (“Letter about Compañía Mariemma” 24 October 1963).

either an occasional lack of communication or slowness of communication existed between the two offices.

De la Hoz and Robles Piquer corresponded with the *Delegado Provincial de Granada* (Regional Delegation of Granada) about an article from the newspaper *ABC* that lamented Granada's exclusion from the campaign of festivals (documents 25 Feb 1963- 22 Jul 1963 (3)49.8 35273). De la Hoz corresponded with the *Coordinador Artístico-Literario* (Artistic-Literary Coordinator) Federico Muelas about possible collaborators in various genres (Muelas favored Mariemma for the *ballet español* slot) and a *cante jondo* section to be held in the "Barranco de los Negros" near the "Maria la Canastera" cave (Muelas 25 Feb 1963 (3)49.8 35273).⁸⁹ The plan that Muelas submitted included two festivals, one for the religious festival of Corpus Christi and one for flamenco. An unsigned note attached to Muelas's plan for the festival states that any inclusion of García Lorca's work in any of the festivals encounters the obstacle of "lack of authorization by the family" but that due to the recent death of his sister the family might be "more open to authorizing" the use of his work ("Unsigned Note about Garcia Lorca's Work" (3)49.8 35273). As the note is included in a box of De la Hoz's files, it is likely that it was written either by De la Hoz himself or by Robles Piquer. An unlabeled newspaper clipping included in this folder confirms that Granada did complete a Festival of Corpus Christi the next year ((3)49.8 35273).

II. MARKETING *JONDURA*: THE FESTIVAL DE JEREZ

The city of Jerez de la Frontera also received approval for inclusion in the "Festivales de

⁸⁹ *Barranco de los Negros* is a gully located in the Sacromonte area of Granada known for its caves many of which served as residences for the city's Gitano population and are now used for flamenco performances ("El Barranco de los negros" sacromontegrana.com).

España” campaign in 1963 ((3)49.8 35273). De la Hoz informed the mayor of Jerez, Tomás García Figueras, in a letter dated 11 April 1963 that on the third of that month the proposed Festival de Jerez passed the selection of the Campaigns and Festivals and that it would be included in the National Plan of Festivals of the year 1963 “with the specialty of flamenco.” Jerez de la Frontera, one corner of the flamenco triangle, was the site of the first *Cátedra de flamencología y estudios folklóricos andaluces* or the “Chair of Flamencology and Andalusian Folklore Studies” devoted to the study of flamenco íy and theory. Flamencologists Juan de la Plata, Manuel Pérez Celdrán, Manuel Ríos Ruíz, and Esteban Pino Romero founded the *Cátedra* on the twenty-fourth of September 1958.⁹⁰ Álvarez Caballero credits Anselmo González Climent with the invention of the word “flamencology,” in his 1955 book *Flamencología*, as well inserting a scientific and academic rigor in the study of flamenco (“Del nacionalflamenquismo al renacimiento” 117).

This new field did not escape the attention of Subdirector De la Hoz who received books by González Climent, De la Plata, and Augusto Butler from Figueras in preparation for the planning of the festival (“Letter to Figueras 11 April 1963” (3)49.8 35273). De la Hoz wrote to Figueras:

Tell me, what is the purpose of these very interesting volumes, [for] whose sending, in any case, I thank you infinitely. The theme is personally for me very fascinating and I read these volumes with eagerness in the -- few-- free moments this work of ours leaves me every day.⁹¹

An undated memo in one of De la Hoz’s document folders indicates that he sent at least one of

⁹⁰ This information was first researched using the website of the *Cátedra* itself (www.flamencologia.com). However, the website has lapsed into disuse and is no longer operational. Alternate websites and articles are currently available to verify this information (www.noticiasyocio.es and www.deflamenco.com) as well as the article “Del nacionalflamenquismo al renacimiento” by Álvarez Caballero. Archival articles from *ABC Madrid* and *ABC Sevilla* also mention the *Cátedra* and its history.

⁹¹ Original text reads: “Dígame-- cual es el destine de estos interesantísimos volúmenes, cuyo envío, de todas formas, agradezco infinita. El tema es personalmente para mí muy sugestivo y leer con ávido esos volúmenes en los ratos-- pocos-- libres que me deje este trabajo nuestro de cada día.”

the books to the Subsecretary of Tourism (“Memo to Subsecretary of Tourism” (3)49.8 35272). This personal research into flamenco scholarship demonstrates an interest in the promotion of flamenco not just as a novelty to attract tourists but as a genuine art form, a change from the classification of flamenco performers in the variety genre in the forties and fifties but a logical continuation of the special treatment afforded the *jondo* category by the censors.

The structure of the Festival of Jerez differed from others in its educational and informative components. The festival featured performances of guitar, piano, orchestra, song, and dance. It showcased perennial festival favorites Antonio Mairena, Fernanda and Bernarda de Utrera, and Juan Talega as well as El Chocolate, María Vargas, La Perla de Cádiz, and Beni de Cádiz in the field of *cante*. It also featured dancers Paco Laberinto, Trini España, and Carmen Carreras. In addition to the performance aspect, the festival also added a section of teachings in flamencology with talks by members of the Cátedra (“Program of the Festival de Jerez” 1963 (3)49.8 35273). Other distinctive features included “practical lessons” (in song, dance, and guitar), lectures on *taurromaquia* or the “history and theory of bullfighting and poetry,”⁹² analyses of the poetry of Manuel Machado and García Lorca, and a section titled “philosophy” that advertised “valuable essentials of Andalusian thought and popular philosophy of [flamenco] song.” These special features illustrate the shift away from a view of flamenco as mere entertainment and towards its treatment as a more esoteric discipline.⁹³

De la Hoz wrote a letter to Juan de la Plata dated 29 November 1963 to thank the flamencologist for his assistance in the campaign of festivals and “for any help [he] may provide

⁹² Climent González’s *Flamencología* includes bullfighting as an essential element of the study of flamenco along with the elements of song and dance (21-152).

⁹³ It should also be noted that the typical profile of a flamencologist at this time is nearly identical to that of the Inspectors of live performances (male, thirties to fifties, university educated, etc.) with the possible exception of political or religious affiliations as this information is not necessarily determinable from either their writing or correspondence.

in the future to projects of Popular Culture” ((3)49.8 35273). In addition to congratulating De la Plata on the success of the Festival de Jerez, De la Hoz writes of his “hope to integrate the *Cátedra* in some way in the workings of the Ministry.” It is unclear whether this integration was ever made official. The *Cátedra* did go on to organize an annual “Fiesta de *bulerías*” in 1967 that is currently still celebrated (Álvarez Caballero “Del nacionalflamenquismo al renacimiento” 119). The fact that the “Fiesta de *bulerías*” and the *Cátedra* outlasted not only the campaign of “FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA” and the Ministry of Information and Tourism but also the Franco regime itself indicates that the organization maintained its independence from the state. The current incarnation of the Festival of Jerez is in its eighteenth year in 2014 (per official website of the Ayuntamiento de Jerez). While the *Cátedra* is currently listed in the Spanish government listing of “Centers for Documentation and Investigation” for Dance, it has never been incorporated into any government agency (“Guía de la danza” Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport, www.danza.es). De la Hoz closes the letter with a note about the possibility of “a singular National Museum of Arte Flamenco” (“Letter to Juan de la Plata 29 Nov 1963” (3)49.8 35273). While such a museum is mentioned in newspaper articles and official documents related to the *Cátedra* as early as 1971 (ABC Madrid 15/06/1971, 83) and as late as 1990 (Junta de Andalucía “Decreto 86/1990” 27/03/1990), it is unclear whether official government sponsorship has ever been involved.

III. HISPANIDAD AND LATIN AMERICA

The increase in presence of flamenco in the festival circuit from the one or two day cycle of “Cantes y bailes andaluces” in southern cities to being the central feature of festivals such as the Festival de Jerez and the *Festival de cante de las minas* at La Unión in Murcia (founded

1961)⁹⁴ spread to more international endeavors of the Ministry of Information and Tourism. One such ambitious project was the “*Gala hispanoamericano de Festivales de España*” or the “Hispano-American Gala of the Festivals of Spain” that took place on 1 March 1966 (“Program of the Gala hispanoamericano of the Festivales de España” (3)49.9 38144, see Appendix IV).

According to the program notes of the Gala:

“FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA,” that has always presented its strong competition to any [private] company of this nature- proof of which is the splendid and already solidly cemented Festival Folklórico Hispanoamericano de Cáceres, joyfully welcomes a delightful initiative that combines the fervor and aspirations of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, the Institute of Hispanic Culture and the Embassies of Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panamá, El Salvador, Uruguay and Venezuela ((3)49.9 38144).

This multinational endeavor not only shows the reintegration of Franco’s Spain back into the international community but also a deliberate effort by the Ministry to reach out to Spain’s former colonies in a spirit of shared cultural heritage. The previous paragraph of the program describes this shared cultural and artistic heritage:

Artistic manifestations are, without doubt, the most beautiful and noble monsternce- also the most authentic- of the soul of the people. Historical or political contingencies, circumstantial imperatives, can divert paths, alter channels or break links ((3)49.9 38144);

This last sentence hints at the broken colonial connection between Spain and Latin America. The authors of the program see a way to solve this “broken link”:

but when the people sing or dance, paint or sculpt, record or compose- in a word: when they create- they do so invariably with absolute fidelity to their essential roots. It is, therefore, in this sphere of creation, be it refined or be it popular, where the exact reason of himself and where his [the people’s] true spiritual context is to be found ((3)49.9 38144).

⁹⁴ Juanito Valderrama, survivor of the Civil War and former CNT member, won the top prize at the first Festival at La Unión according to the history of the festival on the official Región de Murcia Digital website (“La Unión, el cante y Juanito Valderrama” www.regmurcia.com).

Here, the authors of the program begin to align the shared cultural heritage of Spain and Latin America not only with a shared spiritual heritage in the religious sense but in the sense of their “essential roots” or their essential manner of being. The next paragraph continues:

The shared substratum that joins and unites as brothers all peoples of our lineage⁹⁵-brotherhood, including in the strictly biological sense-, is revealed in all its strength in an identity of thought and sentiment expressed in their aesthetic creations in force in every age, and singularly in Music and Dance, manifestations they are of the deepest popular tradition ((3)49.9 38144).

The authors use the Spanish word *raigambre* literally meaning the root system (as of a tree) to represent the concept of tradition. They also emphasize the biological and racial relationship between Spain and Latin America, perhaps oblivious to the negative implications of rape, forced racial mixing of Native peoples, and history of racial hierarchy in Spain’s colonial possessions.

Music and dance here figure as an unmistakable way to link cultures:

Hence [we] have wanted to lay the foundations of this act of exaltation of the Hispano-American fraternity in these basic pillars [of music and dance] that today is happily offered from the sumptuous brand of the Teatro de la Zarzuela of Madrid ((3)49.9 38144).

By viewing the music and dance of these cultures, any apparent similarities between those of Latin America and those of Spain should be taken as signs of the unbreakable link between Spain and the Americas. Per this reasoning, this link could not be severed with the passage of time or even purposefully with revolution and independence.

Going back to the paragraph listing the participation of the various embassies, the authors point out that:

Beneath their [the Ministry, Institute, and Embassies] pavilion, summoned for the GALA HISPANOAMERICANO DE FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA, they

⁹⁵ The Spanish word *estirpe* is used which can also be translated as “race” or “stock” in reference to animal breeding.

congregate today the good art, the enthusiasm and the generosity of chosen figures of Music, Song, and Dance, born on this side of the Atlantic or the other, in which inevitably absences caused by the limitations of space must be lamented ((3)49.9 38144).

The program included: Teatro Zarzuela, Los Torrealberos (popular songs from Venezuela), Caracas-born flamenco dancer Tatiana Reyna (performing with *cantaor* el Poeta and guitarist Naranjita), popular music from Peru, Colombia, and Paraguay, a performance by flamenco dancer Luisa Ortega and her husband pianist Arturo Pavón, tango singer Carlos Acuña, Pilar López, an Argentinian dance group, a castanet concert by Mexican flamenco and classical Spanish dancer Lucero Tena, Buenos Aires-born flamenco dancer Rafael de Cordova (performing with singer Jacinto Almadén), Mariemma, Alejandro Vega,⁹⁶ dancers from Ecuador, ballerina Anita Gonzalez, Maria Rosa and her Ballet company, and Luisillo. Unsurprisingly, the featured biographies of artists in the program emphasized the *gitano* heritage and flamenco pedigree of performers such as Almadén (acolyte of legendary *cantaor* Antonio Chacón and veteran of the *café cantante* era), Luisa Ortega (daughter of famed *cantaor* Manolo Caracól, niece of dancers Los Gallos), and Arturo Pavón (nephew of La Niña de los Peines and Tomás Pavón). It is worth noting that Pavón's biography draws attention to his classical training and time at the Conservatory of Sevilla as well as his lineage. Venezuelan Tatiana Reyna's study with Sevillian flamenco dancer Enrique "el Cojo" and time spent performing with Antonio Mairena also merited mention. A quote from writer José Antonio Ochaíta describes Luisillo as, despite being born and raised in Mexico, "*español de la España alumbrada en 1492*" or "Spanish from the Spain illuminated in 1492," a not so subtle reference to the Catholic Kings and the glory days of the Spanish Empire. As with many of the exhibitions of "Cante y baile

⁹⁶ Vega was a flamenco dancer from Huelva and sometime member of Pilar López's company.

andaluz” from the festivals of the fifties, *gitano* and flamenco pedigree figure prominently as qualifications for inclusion in the flamenco sphere, but the additional qualification of somehow seeming Spanish as overriding the performer’s Mexican, Argentinian, or Venezuelan cultural identity harkens back to the days of the Spanish racial caste system where one’s percentage of European blood (real or perceived) allowed a person entrance into the upper classes. These references to lineage and tradition are a natural extension of the Spanish nationalism of *franquismo*. The Gala, taken with this background, then becomes an extension of the concept of the *ballet español*, with the Franco regime laying claim not only to regional Spanish forms as indicative of a singular Spanish identity but also to Latin American forms as (despite a hundred and fifty year removal from colonial status) belonging to the same monolithic Spanish genre. The colonial caste system still held a certain amount of sway in Latin American countries far into the twentieth century.⁹⁷

IV. “LA PEDAGOGÍA DEL TIEMPO LIBRE”: THE PEDAGOGY OF FREE TIME

Although much of the strategy of the Ministry of Information and Tourism focused on international perceptions of Spain and attracting tourists, a domestic component figured into the strategy as well. With the 1964 Festival de Jerez, the events and lectures aimed to educate local populations as well as tourists about what constituted Spanish culture (in that case flamenco). In November of that year, the Ministry held a “II Assembly of the National Council of ‘Festivales de España’” in Málaga. The box of documents from this Assembly contains a printed booklet labeled as the “Discussion of the Excmo. Sr. [Honorable Mr.] Minister of the Department in the

⁹⁷ For further discussion of the remnants of the caste system in modern Latin America and the United States see Ruth Hill “Teaching the Pre-History of Race Along the Hispanic Transatlantic,” Ben Vinson “Race and Badge: Free-colored Soldiers in the Colonial Mexican Militia,” and Brian D. Haley and Larry Wilcoxon “How Spaniards Became Chumash and Other Tales of Ethnogenesis.”

Act of Closure of the II Assembly of the National Council of ‘Festivales de España’” (see Appendix III). While the “Honorable Minister of the Department” is never mentioned by name, it could be Fraga as he would have been the head of the Ministry at that time. On page four of the booklet, the author describes the domestic goal of the campaign of Festivals:

The proposition of the FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA has been to bring closer to the multitudes, who until now have hardly had occasion to sample them, the great creations of the Theatre, Music and Dance, that is to say, genuine cultural creations capable of awakening elevated emotions in the souls of the Spanish people ((3)49.9 38670).

The author aligns the work of the Ministry with that of a spiritual, almost evangelical mission.

He goes on to point out that:

They [the Spanish people] have been proven to be of the highest standards, not only applauding musical works of the first magnitude, the hearing of which has made the Festivals possible, but also comprehending, in perfect identification with the argument and its incidences, the “Piraikon Theatron” of Athens,⁹⁸ despite not understanding a single word of the Greek language in which the works were written ((3)49.9 38670).

This mention of the Greek theatre troupe seems to go counter to the nationalism of the Franco regime, but it does recall the admiration of classical cultures by the Falange and other fascist movements.

Further down the paragraph the author returns to the goal of the Festival campaign: “The work of spiritual perfection that the FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA seeks is, in its results, a work of culture; but, in regards to the process, it is an activity of public education.” This alignment of the “spiritual perfection” with the institution of public education could be a reference to the continued presence of Catholic ideology in the Spanish education system. However, the

⁹⁸ The “Piraikon Theatron” of Athens was a Greek Theatre troupe that toured Europe and the U.S. throughout the 1960s giving performances of Classical Greek Theatre (such as Sophocles and Euripides) in the modern Greek language (see Rodríguez Adrados and Funke).

recurring mention of culture emphasizes the importance of the arts in this equation. The author provides his own definition of culture to clarify the point:

Culture, in effect, as much in its objective and generic sense, as in a subjective and personal sense, is the effect of a difficult and continued work of creation, manipulation, and transmission of symbols endowed with meaning for a particular society ((3)49.9 38670).

This “creation, manipulation, and transmission of symbols” could refer not only to the work of artists, composers, and choreographers but also to the work of the state propaganda, which occasionally intersected with the former categories. In the next sentence the author clarifies which symbols he is referring to:

Whichever be the field that these symbols pertain to (Literature, Painting, Music, Dance and Ballet, Games, etc.), the result of the cultural elaboration translates into “works,” that possess a great historic and human value as global “justifications” of a people or a historic era ((3)49.9 38670).

In this case, the propaganda provided by works of art should apply not only to the citizens of Spain or even to the international community but to future generations and to history itself. Great culture is therefore valuable not only in the present but as the historic redemption of a society. The author gives “Greek culture of the age of Pericles, [and] Spanish culture of the *siglo de oro*” as examples of this phenomenon.

In a section titled “The Pedagogy of Free Time,” the author details how this feat of public education and historical propaganda became and would continue to become more important:

From the working week of eighty hours, imperative in all nations in the first decades of the XIX century, it has passed in some of these to a week of forty hours and, with the progresses of automation, we are exposed to a type of unedited division of human time, under which, within a few decades, a man will work three or four days a week and will have the remaining time for his leisure ((3)49.9 38670).

This leisure or free time concerns the author and therefore, by extension, the department. As

foreign tourists would perhaps have nothing but free time on their trip to Spain, their free time would not be problematic to the Ministry. How the average Spanish citizen disposes of their leisure time is therefore the implied focus. By a “pedagogy of free time,” the author is referring to the structuring of leisure activities as an informal way to educate the public academically, socially, morally, and spiritually. As with the tour by the Greek theatre troupe, the idea was that by merely being exposed to culture, especially “high” or “classical” culture, the Spanish public would obtain an educational benefit as well as a spiritual benefit, even if they did not understand the language. One project that illustrates the use of popular media as pedagogical tool in regards to flamenco is the *Rito y geografía del cante* documentary series that aired on Spanish television in the early seventies (“Todo un clásico del flamenco en Televisión Española” www.rtve.es). The twenty-six part series functioned as a guide to educate Spaniards about flamenco. It treats flamenco with the flamencologist’s scientific and academic rigor, dissecting the art and analyzing its parts. Topics included flamenco history (“Del café cantante al tablao”), *palos* (“Seguiriyas,” “El Fandango,” and “Soleares”), as well as individual artists and their lineages (“Manuel Torre y Antonio Chacón” and “La familia Pinini”). The documentary essentially functioned as a flamenco classroom on primetime TV.

To guide the Spanish citizen, the author of the booklet equates his proposed “pedagogy of free time” with social pedagogy:

The “Pedagogy of Free Time” will be in the best sense of the word, a ‘social pedagogy,’ certainly not in the Platonic and abstract sense of Paul Natorp,⁹⁹ but in agreement with the necessities of socialization--- densification, amplification and deepening of social relations--- of modern life ((3)49.9 38670).

⁹⁹ Per the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Paul Natorp was a German philosopher, born in Düsseldorf in 1854, and influenced by Plato and Immanuel Kant. He wrote a book titled *Sozialpädagogik (Social Pedagogy)* in 1899 (“Paul Natorp” plato.stanford.edu).

This “densification, amplification and deepening of social relations” in Spain was not new in 1964. Between the urbanization and industrialization of the nineteenth century and Spain’s entry into the sphere of international politics and tourism in the fifties, Spanish social relations were changing. As Sasha Pack writes in “Tourism and Political Change”: “[n]umerous quaint villages of 1950 had become by 1970 enclaves of hedonism, unsightly congestion, and lowbrow commerce” (62).

The “Discussion of the Minister” continues by describing the range of possible modern modes of delivering this pedagogy to the public:

From social tourism to the “pocket book,” from sports to the popular theatre, from the cinema and the press to listening to records and the contemplation of televised images, the range of free time activities is certainly wide, and its socio-cultural analysis, first, and its discipline and pedagogic orientation after; finally its political regulation from the double point of view limiting and stimulating, offers immense possibilities to gifted imaginations ((3)49.9 38670).

The use of modes of mass communication and the performing arts for propaganda purposes was most certainly quite familiar to the Franco regime at this time. However, the oncoming relaxation of censorship law (spearheaded by Manuel Fraga) meant that the propaganda strategy of the regime might need to evolve and would therefore need strategists with “gifted imaginations.” Although the 1966 Press Law mainly referred to printed media and publications, the law was part of the effort by the Ministry to at least create the image of a modern and permissive Spain. Pack quotes the official 1965 tourist guidebook *España para usted* declaring “We don’t believe that we mount an *auto de fe* to burn at the stake all those who wear shorts in the city, or those disturbing bikinis at the beach” (*Tourism and Dictatorship* 151).

Far from marking the beginning of a massive liberalizing campaign by the Ministry, the Assembly of 1964 and even the Press Law of 1966 would exert relatively little influence over the regulation of live flamenco performances. Performances continued to be closely regulated,

especially the political content of lyrics. In 1963 the regime carried out the last official political death sentence with the execution of communist Julián Grimau (Paul Preston *The Politics of Revenge* 152). Alfredo Grimaldos centers a large part of his section about flamenco and the communist left on *cantaores*¹⁰⁰ like José Menese, El Cabrero, and Enrique Morente and their experiences with censorship in the late sixties and early seventies (*Historia social del flamenco* 211-250). Even Franco favorite Antonio *el bailarín* fell afoul of the regime with his arrest in 1973 on charges of blasphemy.¹⁰¹ The passages from the Minister's discussion of "the pedagogy of free time" do, however, illustrate the ideology behind the campaign of festivals at the highest levels of the Departments in charge of it. They also demonstrate the evolution of many of the ideas about propaganda and education germinated in the heyday of the Falange, developed by the spiritual fervor of National Catholicism, and adulterated by the capitalistic interests of the Tourism directives of the fifties.

¹⁰⁰ Grimaldos also includes dancer Antonio Gades in this section due to his membership in the Spanish Communist party and close friendship with Fidel Castro.

¹⁰¹ Antonio wrote about his two month prison term in his 1974 book *Antonio: Mi diario en la cárcel* or "My Prison Diary," in which he takes full responsibility for the alleged offense. However, in Pedro Fuentes-Guío's 1990 biography of the dancer (*Antonio: La verdad de su vida*) the author suggests that the arrest may have been retribution for an unauthorized tour by Antonio and his company of the Soviet Union.

CONCLUSION

I. FASCIST IDEALS, *NACIONALFLAMENQUISMO*, AND SPANISH DANCE

In conclusion, there is no way to talk about flamenco and Spanish dance from this period without discussing the political backdrop. The policies and political ideology of General Francisco Franco and his regime dramatically reshaped every element of Spanish popular culture including dance and flamenco. *Nacionalflamenquismo* is a political artifact as well as a historical era. My examination of this artifact has revealed the inner workings and motivation behind the actions of the regime. It has also exposed the relationship between fascist or *franquista* ideology and Spanish government policy towards the art of flamenco.

The exalted rhetoric of “The Pedagogy of Free Time” evokes the rhetoric of the Falange and José Antonio Primo de Rivera. While the strength of the Falange as a political power is debatable after 1945, many of the goals and ideals it espoused retained potency within the Franco regime and echoed in *franquista* ideology: authoritarianism,¹⁰² nationalism, obsession with Spanish history, and an emphasis on the poetics of violence and sacrifice.¹⁰³ The rise of *nacionalflamenquismo*, the marriage of *franquismo* and flamenco, manifests this underlying ideology.

Authoritarianism appears most evident in relation to flamenco and Spanish dance through the censorship and regulation of live performances. The more oppressive end of this regulation concentrated on the ranks of performers of popular music and foreign (especially American or Latin American) musical forms, in particular on lighter musical comedies or vaudeville style

¹⁰² Francisco Franco remained the dictator of Spain until his death in 1975.

¹⁰³ See José Antonio Primo de Rivera’s first official statement of the party goals from October 29, 1933 in Payne’s *Falange* (38-41).

performances. This policy resulted in a hierarchy of foreign, morally questionable, and comedic art at the bottom to the Spanish, decent, and serious art on the top. This spectrum allowed flamenco as well as Spanish classical performers a relative amount of freedom despite being subjected to the same censorship system as other performers. The promotion of *ballet español*, the genre formed by the merging of these two Spanish forms, along with Spanish folk dance, as the Spanish national dance form illustrates the Falangist Spanish nationalism that called for a united Spain without regional separatism or independence.

In the context of the tourism and festival campaigns of the fifties and sixties, though overtly commercial in their aims, the shorthand of nationalist iconography provided a convenient visual for publicity materials with the flamenco dancer and the bullfighter decorating tourism posters. The drive to attract tourism to Spain became a patriotic endeavor that sought to return the nation to a special place in the global community, a place of ambiguous “difference” from other European countries as evidenced by the “Spain is different” slogan. Despite their more capitalistic motivations, those festivals that featured flamenco, like the *Concurso* in Córdoba and the Festival de Jerez, showcased the esoteric or even spiritual aspects of the form more than the appealing visual of the dancers. The inclusion of the lecture on bullfighting by the Jerez Festival and the focus on *cante jondo* by both festivals recall the Falangist poetics of violence and sacrifice as well as their aestheticization of pain and suffering.

The interest in the young field of flamencology by Enrique de la Hoz and other bureaucrats from the Franco regime demonstrates not only a certain view of flamenco as an extension of Spanish nationalism but also a valuing of its history and an exalted view of Spanish culture by the regime. The discussions in both the program of the “*Gala hispanoamericano de Festivales de España*” and the “Pedagogy of Free Time” from the “II Assembly of the National

Council of ‘Festivales de España’” attest to this exalted view of Spanish culture and the narrative constructed as a result. In the “*Gala hispanoamericano*,” the subtle appropriation of Latin American culture, so morally questionable a few decades prior, became an opportune method of expanding the world of Spanish dance and music and declaring the importance and vitality of the Spanish cultural empire. In a spectacular manipulation of history, the Spanish cultural empire of the “*Gala hispanoamericano*” deftly avoided the negative elements of the historical Spanish Colonial Empire.

“The Pedagogy of Free Time” most explicitly details the ways in which the arts can be utilized in the service of political agenda and the government. It refers back to the illustrious eras of history praised by other fascist movements (Classical Greece) as well as the Falange (*siglo de oro*). The pedagogy involves a plan to use mass media and popular entertainment to mold the Spanish people spiritually as well as intellectually. This precise way of employing art and entertainment in service of a political agenda also recalls the use of propaganda not only by the *Falange* and the Franco regime but also the other European fascist movements.

II. NACIONALFLAMENQUISMO: SOLO HISTORIA

Álvarez Caballero ends his article “Del nacionalflamenquismo al renacimiento” (“From Nationalflamencoism to Renaissance”) with the phrase “this of the *nacionalflamenquismo* was beginning to be, only, history...” (119).¹⁰⁴ Indeed, most flamencologists chose to ignore this period when writing about flamenco in the twentieth century, mentioning it only as background for the exalted *renacimiento* or Flamenco Renaissance.¹⁰⁵ However, while it may be “only

¹⁰⁴ Actual quote reads “Lo del *nacionalflamenquismo* [sic] comenzaba a ser, sólo, historia...” (119).

¹⁰⁵ The *renacimiento flamenco* or Flamenco Renaissance denotes the flamenco era of the later Franco years, either 1955 or 1965 until 1975, which coincided with the easing of censorship during the *dictablanda* phase of the regime.

history,” it is important history. This period exemplifies the links between political control, national identity, and art. *Nacionalflamenquismo*, along with its components *ballet español* and *tablaos*, resulted from the intersection of nationalist ideology, economic necessity, and international public relations. It has had a profound effect on flamenco and that effect is something I would like to explore in the future.

In future, I propose to continue research into the internal workings of the various *ballet español* companies. The private archives of the Amor de Dios Studio in Madrid (which also contain the personal archives of Antonio Ruiz Soler) were not available at for this project. I intend to return to Spain to search out these files, along with any records from the *Cátedra de Jerez*, to continue the investigative efforts of this project. In addition, the time spent by these artists abroad not only in the Americas but in Europe and other parts of the globe merits serious attention. While the FBI file on Carmen Amaya was destroyed in October 1970, records on Pilar López held in the NARA archives may contain further information pertinent to this subject. I plan to explore these files along with any potential FBI files on López dancers Mario Maya and Antonio Gades.

At the beginning of this process, my original intention was to explore more recent trends in flamenco performance. However, I quickly realized that I could not tell that story without a more complete picture of *nacionalflamenquismo*. This era is an integral piece of the flamenco DNA. In Spain, there has been a reluctance to discuss the Franco years in general that is now beginning to thaw. As these collective repressed political memories come to the surface, as archival information is declassified, now is the perfect time to extricate this story from the fog of shame that surrounds it. Ignoring these decades will not erase the suffering and oppression

The use of the word “renaissance” equates the blossoming of flamenco music and dance of this period with the blossoming of art and learning in Renaissance Italy.

experienced by Spain any more than the censorship of the time erased dissent from her shores. We can only achieve a complete understanding of where the art of flamenco currently is and where it could go from here by understanding where it has been. I hope that my research can flesh out the details of this neglected and forgotten time.

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APPENDIX I

EXCERPTS FROM THE “GUIDELINES FOR ALLOCATING INSPECTORS AND CONDUCTING CENSORSHIP”:

"La labor educador que la Vicesecretaría intenta como misión peculiar suya, ha de realizarse en parte a través del Teatro y del Cinematógrafo, pues ante ellos la mentalidad popular es tan sorben como la tierra estival a la gota de agua. Así pues, mirados desde esta perspectiva, queda potenciada su importancia; importancia que les es propia desde su origen, pero que ha sido olvidada casi de una manera permanente. Y tenido todo esto en cuenta se acomete por la Vicesecretaria una doble empresa: por una parte será ésta orientadora, haciendo Teatro y Cine por sus medios propios; y por la otra será meramente interventora, vigilando las programaciones y las representaciones de las Empresas y Compañías particulares, así como las programaciones y las proyecciones de películas. Un aspecto de ésta última ha de ser la Inspección sobre las representaciones y proyecciones para ver si se ajustan a las normas establecidas por la Vicesecretaría."

“Cuando la hoja de Censura, si se trata de Teatro, acuse que el libro ha sido tachado en algunas de sus partes por esta Censura, le Pedirá antes de la representación y cuidará que se observen estas tachaduras...”

“puede proponer al Jefe de Provincial Propaganda... la suspensión de comedias musicales (revistas, operetas), variedades o cualquiera clase de comedias o películas aunque las Compañías o Empresas que las pongan lleven las hojas de autorización debidamente expedidas; ésta resolución la tomará el Delegado Provincial, previa consulta a la Delegación Nacional de Propaganda, siempre que ello pudiera dar lugar a escanda notorio en el núcleo social donde la

Obra se represente.

Lo que se pretende con esto es no igualar el nivel moral de las provincias al de las grandes ciudades, sino elevar el de las grandes ciudades y hacerlas tornar hacia unos gustos más sencillos y morales; concretamente: cercar primero lo dañado para después aniquilarlo."

"y esta es una principal misión del Inspector Provincial, ha de ser una prolongación en su provincia del espíritu que anima a la censura de Espectáculos de la Vicesecretaria; para conseguir esto ha de cuidar que los actores y actrices no añadan, de su cosecha, frases y chistes alusivos a problemas políticos, de que no hagan gestos que den a la frase un sentido lividioso o que constituya una crítica política o bien sea una sátira para la Religión, el Estado, el Partido o los Hombres de ambos."

APPENDIX II

EXCERPTS FROM THE LETTER TO THE SR. DELEGADO PROVINCIAL DE LA
SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR FROM EL INSPECTOR MANUEL SANZ
DATED 18 JUNE 1951:

“Este artista por ser modalidad conocida del que suscribe, fue advertida de que cambiase su repertorio de bailes exóticos, por el de bailes clásicos, modalidad que también interpreta, contestando, que tenía que hacer tres salidas, y que números clásicos no tenía más que uno.”

“Al finalizar la primera de sus actuaciones- que fue una zamba [sic], interpretada según los límites que se habían fijado, - ante los insistentes aplausos, dicha artista se dirigió por el micrófono al público, con las siguientes frases: ‘muy agradecida a estos inmerecidos aplausos; Por mí, les estaría bailando toda clase de “zambas” [sic] y “mangos” [sic], hasta mañana, [next phrase underlined] pero a mí me tienen prohibido bailar ‘zambas’.’ En vista de semejante e incalificable actitud, le fue prohibida su actuación en el resto del espectáculo, haciéndole saber que se daría cuneta [sic] de lo ocurrido, a esa Delegación, para que adorase las medidas que creyese oportunas...”

APPENDIX III

EXCERPTS FROM THE “ACTO DE CLAUSURA DE LA II ASAMBLEA DEL CONSEJO NACIONAL DE ‘FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA’,” MÁLAGA, NOVIEMBRE 1964

PAGE 4:

“El propósito de los FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA ha sido acercar a las multitudes, que hasta ahora apenas han tenido ocasión de saborearlas, las grandes creaciones del teatro, la música y la danza, es decir, genuinas creaciones culturales capaces de suscitar emociones elevadoras en las almas de los españoles. Estos han probado que están a la altura de los espectáculos más exigentes, no sólo aplaudiendo de obras musicales de primer magnitud, cuya audición han hecho posible los Festivales, sino también comprendo, en perfecta identificación con el argumento y sus incidencias, el “Piraikon Theatron”, de Atenas, aunque no entendían ni una palabra de la lengua griega en que estaban escritas las obras. Ello constituye una prueba más, si fuera necesaria, de la capacidad artística del pueblo español, es decir, de la finura de su sensibilidad para captar las creaciones más exquisitas de la Literatura y del Arte. La labor de perfeccionamiento espiritual que persiguen los FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA es, en sus resultados, una obra de cultura; pero, en cuanto al proceso, es una actividad de educación del pueblo. La Cultura, en efecto, tanto en su acepción objetiva y genérica, como en un sentido subjetivo y personal, es el efecto de un trabajo difícil y continuado de creación, manipulación y transmisión de símbolos dotados de sentido para una determinada sociedad. Cualquiera que sea el campo a que estos símbolos pertenecen (Literatura, Pintura, Música, Danza y Baile, Juegos, etc.), el resultado de la elaboración cultural se traduce en “obras”, que tienen un gran valor histórico y humano en cuanto “justificaciones” globales de un pueblo o de una época histórica.

Así, por ejemplo, elogiamos el alto nivel de la cultura griega en el siglo de Pericles, de la cultura española del Siglo de Oro, etc.”

Pedagogía del Tiempo Libre

“La Pedagogía del tiempo libre sería en el mejor sentido de la palabra, una ‘pedagogía social’, no ciertamente en la acepción platónica y abstracta de Paul Natorp, sino de conformidad con las necesidades de socialización -- densificación, amplificación y profundización de las relaciones sociales-- de la vida moderna. Desde el turismo social al “libro del bolsillo”, desde el deporte al teatro popular, desde el cine y la prensa a la audición de discos y a la contemplación de las imágenes televisadas, la gama de actividades del tiempo libre es ciertamente amplia, y su análisis socio-cultural, primero, y su disciplina y orientación pedagógica después; finalmente, su regulación política desde el doble punto de vista limitativo y estimulante, ofrecen posibilidades inmensas a imaginaciones bien dotadas.”

APPENDIX IV

EXCERPT FROM THE "GALA HISPANOAMERICANA DE FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA 1 MARCH 1966" PROGRAM NOTES:

"Las Manifestaciones artísticas son, sin ninguna duda, el más bello y noble ostensorio- también el más auténtico- del alma de los pueblos. Contingencias históricas o políticas, circunstanciales imperativos, podrán desviar trayectorias, alterar cauces o quebrar nexos; pero cuando el pueblo canta o danza, pinta o esculpe, graba o compone- en una palabra: cuando crea- lo hace invariablemente con absoluta fidelidad a sus raíces esenciales. Es, por consiguiente, en este ámbito de la creación, sea culta sea popular, donde de razón exacta de sí mismo y donde ha de buscarse su verdadero e indeclinable contexto espiritual.

El substrato común que une y hermana a todos los pueblos de nuestra estirpe - hermandad, incluso en un sentido estrictamente biológico-, se revela con toda su fuerza en una identidad de pensamiento y sentimiento expresada en sus creaciones estéticas vigentes en cada época, y singularmente en la Música y en la Danza, manifestaciones estas de la más profunda raigambre popular. De ahí que se haya querido fundamentar en ellas los pilares básicos de este acto de exaltación de la fraternidad hispanoamericana que hoy se ofrece gozosamente desde el marco suntuoso del Teatro de la Zarzuela de Madrid.

"FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA", que siempre ha presentado su concurso decidido a toda empresa de esta naturaleza- prueba de ello es el espléndido y ya sólidamente cimentado Festival Folklórico Hispanoamericano de Cáceres, acoge con júbilo una feliz iniciativa en la que aúnan fervores y anhelos el Ministerio de Información y Turismo, el Instituto de Cultura Hispánica y las Embajadas de Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua,

Panamá, El Salvador, Uruguay y Venezuela. Bajo su pabellón, convocados para esta GALA HISPANOAMERICANA DE FESTIVALES DE ESPAÑA, se congregan hoy el buen arte, el entusiasmo y la generosidad de un grupo de escogidas figuras de la Música, la Canción, y la Danza, nacidas en este y al otro lado del Atlántico, en el que forzosamente hay que lamentar ausencias impuestas por la limitación del espectáculo. A todos ellos- a los que están y a los que quisieron estar- nuestra más sincera gratitud; gratitud que, de todo corazón, hacemos extensiva al selecto auditorio que nos honra con su presencia, satisfaciendo los fines benéficos que han impulsado esta iniciativa.”

APPENDIX V

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Alegrías: flamenco rhythm in the *cantiñas* group

Alpargatas: rope-bottom sandals worn in Northern Spain and used when dancing *jotas*; known as “*espadrilles*” in France

Anarcho-syndicalism: branch of anarchism that favors the use of trade unions or syndicates as a way for workers to exert control over their economic and social condition.

Baile: “dance”; sometimes used as a translation of “ballet”; synonymous with *danza* but used more to refer to a particular school of dance or dance in general; its verb form *bailar* is used almost universally to speak of the act of dancing

Bailaor/a: “dancer”; in flamenco refers to a flamenco dancer

Bailarín: “dancer”; usually used in flamenco to differentiate a classically (*escuela bolero*, French or Russian ballet) trained dancer as opposed to a strictly flamenco dancer

Ballet: refers either to the French and Russian traditions of dance (usually referred to in Spanish as *ballet classico*) and sometimes also to a large dance company or a classical dance tradition

Bulerías: flamenco rhythm in the *soleares* group

Cachucha: folk dance from Andalucía performed with castanets. It was adapted into a piece in the Romantic ballet genre by Austrian ballerina Fanny Elssler in the nineteenth century and became part of the *escuela bolera* tradition in Spanish dance. In flamenco, the *cachucha* was a form of *zambra* performed primarily in Granada.

Café Cantante: “singing café”; one of many cafés which showcased flamenco performances and catered to theatregoers in the mid- nineteenth and early twentieth century Spain. Though

the phenomenon began in Andalucía (Sevilla), these *cafés* eventually spread to Madrid as well. For the purposes of this project, the singular *café cantante* refers to the period when these *cafés* were popular, and the plural *cafés cantantes* refers to the *cafés* in general

Caló/Calé: language of the *gitanos* of Spain; uses Romani words with Spanish grammatical structure

Cané: style of flamenco performance that uses choruses sung by more than one singer

Canción: non-flamenco song

Cantante: singer; as opposed to *cantaor* which refers specifically to a flamenco singer

Cante: flamenco song or singing

Cante chico: “small song”; from an older flamenco taxonomy that separated rhythms into “small” and “big” or “great” (*grande*) song (also called *cante jondo*) that implied a hierarchy

Cante grande: “big song”; see *cante chico* and *cante jondo*

Cante jondo: “deep song”; refers to a mood or style of flamenco song that contains much emotional depth and weight. The songs most associated with the *jondo* register are the *solea* and its variations, the *siguiriya* and its variations, and the *taranto/a*.

Cante ligero: “light song”; from the older flamenco taxonomy that distinguished non-*jondo* songs as lighter in mood. Sometimes called *cante chico*

Cante mediano: “medium song”; from one older flamenco taxonomy that attempted to compensate for the serious tone of certain *ligero* or “light” songs (such as the *tientos*) without including them in the *jondo* grouping. Sometimes called *cante intermedio*

Cantiñas: flamenco song that tends to be more joyful in character. *Cantiñas* is also used to refer to the entire group of songs.

Caña: flamenco song from the *soleares* group; distinctive for the refrain of repeated “Ay,” “Y,” or other syllable

Cañí: adjective referring to anything related to *gitanos* or *gitano*-like; also, *La España cañí* is a piece of music often played at bullfights

Caracoles: flamenco song in the *cantiñas* group

Carceleras: flamenco song related to the *martinete* whose lyrics refer to prison (*cárcel* in Spanish)

Catalán: native language of the people of Catalonia; related to Provençal French

Chufía: any festive flamenco song

CNT: “*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*” or National Confederation of Labor; the anarcho-syndicalist trade union, joined the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War

Concurso: contest

Danza: “dance”; synonymous with *baile* but more often used to refer to specific examples of dance

Dictablanda: “soft dictatorship”; play on the term *dictadura* (Spanish for dictatorship) and that in Spanish *dura* also means “hard”; used to refer to the last decade of the Franco dictatorship when enforcement of oppressive regulations eased

Escuela bolera: “bolero school”; classical Spanish dance form related to Spanish court and folk dance as well as French ballet

Euskadi: native language of the Basque people; not related to any other language

Falange: Spanish fascist political movement and party founded by José Antonio Primo de Rivera in 1931; merged with the JONS prior to the Spanish Civil War and was the Spanish national party during the Franco regime

Fandangos: Spanish folk dance and song group adopted into the flamenco canon; includes slower versions with less marked rhythm and primarily sung (not danced) as well as more rhythmic versions associated with the towns of Huelva and Alosno in Andalucía

Fandanguillo: flamenco song; described by Christof Jung as a “gayer and wittier” version of the *fandangos* (71); sometimes referred to as *fandangos naturales*; associated with the *óperismo* movement of the early twentieth century

Farruca: flamenco song thought to derive from the folk music of either Galicia or Asturias

Franquismo: political ideology of dictator Francisco Franco marked by hyper-nationalism and conservative Catholicism

Gallego: native language of Galicia; related to both Castilian Spanish and Portuguese

Garrotín: flamenco song made popular by the *cantaora* La Niña de los Peines; thought to be derived from folk song from Lérida and Tarragona in Cataluña

Gitano/a: sometimes called “Gypsies” in English, a member of the Roma population of Spain

Ida y vuelta: “roundtrip”; refers to songs derived from the mixing of cultures and music in Latin America that were imported back to Spain and entered into the flamenco canon

Jabera: flamenco song related to the *malagueña* and *fandangos*

Jondo: “deep”; used in flamenco to describe the quality of depth, seriousness, and emotional weight contained by certain flamenco songs; noun form is *jondura*

JONS: “*Junta de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista*” or Junta of the National-Syndicalist Offensive; Spanish fascist group that merged with the Falange prior to the Spanish Civil War

Jota: Spanish folk dances from many regions of Spain; most iconically associated with Northern Spanish regions of Navarra and Aragon

Juerga: informal flamenco jam session

Latifundia: large landed estates in Spain owned by one person or family

Letras: flamenco lyrics or verses; typically, verses are usually mixed and matched with different verses (composed or traditionally used for the same *palo*) used within the same performance or recording

Livianas: flamenco song; variant of *siguiriyas*

Malagueña: flamenco song derived from the *fandango andaluz*

Martinete: flamenco song that is a form of *tonás*; originated as a work song in blacksmith forges of Andalucía

Milonga: flamenco song derived from Argentinian music

Mirabras: flamenco song that is a form of *cantiñas*

Nacionalflamenquismo: “nationalflamencoism”; style of flamenco that grew out of *ópera flamenca* and theatrical flamenco during the reign of Francisco Franco; employed flamenco and Spanish dance as symbol of national identity and advertising for international tourism

National-syndicalism: ideology that combined nationalism and syndicalism; part of the official Spanish state party (*Falange Española de la Junta Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista*) under Francisco Franco

Ópera flamenca: alternate name for theatrical flamenco used to obtain special (lower) tax rates reserved for operas.

Óperismo: style of flamenco associated with the *ópera flamenca* period marked by an emphasis on non-*jondo* songs

Palo: flamenco rhythm or song; each *palo* not only has a more or less set rhythmic and song structure but also various sets of lyrics the performer may choose from to sing

Panaderos: *escuela bolera* or Spanish Classical dance that is a kind of *seguidilla* usually performed in ballet slippers and with castanets; also refers to a standard step from this dance; version of the *panaderos* is occasionally included in the flamenco repertoire

Polo: flamenco song in the *soleares* family related to the *caña* and the *rondeña*

Rondeña: flamenco song related to the *malagueña*

Rumba: flamenco song related to African and Caribbean rhythms; there is a strong *rumba* tradition amongst the *gitanos* of Southern France

Seguidillas: Spanish folk dances related to the *sevillanas* (especially *seguidillas manchegas*)

Señorito: “little gentleman” or “little lord”; usually used in a pejorative sense to describe a wealthy young man overly occupied with leisure pursuits similar to “dandy” but with more of a class distinction

Serranas: flamenco song that is a form of *siguiriyas*

Sevillanas: Spanish folk dance from Andalucía related to the *seguidilla*; often performed in the flamenco repertoire

Siglo de Oro: “Golden Century”; mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century C.E. when Spain experienced an influx of wealth from the Americas as well as a surge in literature and art

Siguiriyas/siguiriya/seguiriyas/seguriya: dirge-like flamenco song in the *jondo* register; also the group of songs related to the *siguriya*

Soleares/solea: flamenco song in the *jondo* register; also the group of songs related to the *soleares*

Tablao: flamenco dinner show; began around 1945 with a zenith in the late fifties and early sixties; many *tablaos* are still in operation today in Spain

Tangos: flamenco song related to African and American music

Tanguillos: flamenco song that is a faster and lighter version of the *tangos*

Taranta: flamenco song from the group known as *cantes de las minas* or “songs from the mines”

alternately referred to as *cantes de Levante* (songs from the eastern coast of Spain);

usually sung, and not danced, with a free rhythm

Taranto: flamenco song; the danceable version of the *taranta*, it uses a more measured rhythm

Tauromaquia: the art and technique of bullfighting

Tientos: flamenco song related to the *tangos*

Tonás: flamenco song usually performed without any accompaniment or fixed rhythm

UGT: “*Unión General del Trabajadores*” or General Workers Union or General Union of

Workers; aligned with the Socialist party but joined Republican side during the Spanish

Civil War

Vascos: “Basques”

Verdiales: Spanish folk dance/song sometimes included in the flamenco repertoire

Zambra: flamenco rhythm, style, and performance venue from Granada as well as a theatrical

style created by Manolo Caracol; strong North African influence

Zarzuela: Operettas (usually comic) usually accompanied by *escuela bolera* dance, popular in

Spain from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century